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The Citizen Education for Peace Project at the University of California, Irvine is proud to announce the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST. The contest is intended to stimulate careful thinking and citizen action on a critical issue before our democracy: the achievement of a more enduring peace in the nuclear age.

—ENTERING THE CONTEST—

To enter the contest, the entrant must write and send a letter to a candidate for President of the United States of his or her choice, spelling out what actions a U.S. President should take both domestically and internationally to enhance prospects for lasting world peace.

A copy of the letter sent to Citizen Education for Peace Project along with a statement of when and where the entrant viewed the QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES shall constitute entry into the contest.

The QUEST FOR PEACE BROADCAST SERIES is a selection of nine videotaped interviews from the one hundred program QUEST FOR PEACE Series. The Broadcast Series includes twenty-nine minute interviews with Helen Caldicott, M.D., Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Linda Smith, Leonard I. Beerman, Sheila Tobias, Harold Willens, Karen Mulhauser, Robert F. Drinan, S.J., and Elise Boulding. Common themes in the interviews are that the nuclear threat to humankind must be addressed urgently, and that an informed citizenry in a democracy can make a decisive difference in transcending current problems. These nine interviews are available at no cost to the sponsoring institution, group or individual for broadcast on local cable or public television.

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The QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST is open to individuals of all ages who have watched some part of the Quest for Peace Broadcast Series. Faculty, staff and students (and immediate families) of the University of California, Irvine are not eligible to enter the Contest.

Entries will be judged upon their innovative and creative content, with the decision of the judges to be final. The judges for the QUEST FOR PEACE WRITING CONTEST shall include the faculty, staff, students and others in the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of California, Irvine.

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Winners will be notified by February 15, 1988. All entries will become the property of the Citizen Education for Peace Project.

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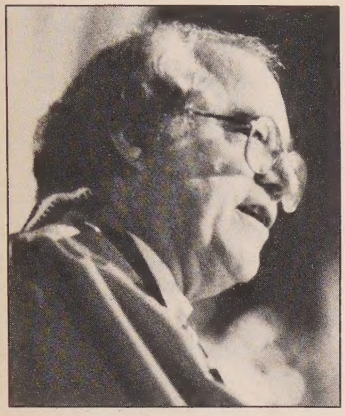

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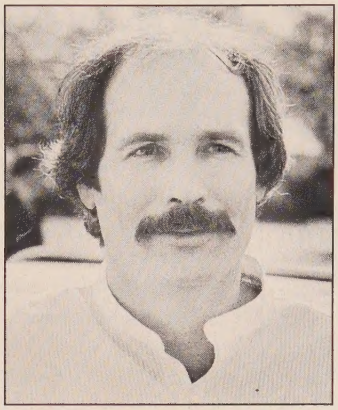

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BEHIND THE LINES/RICHARD HEALEY & ELLIOTT NEGIN

FIVE YEARS LATER

WHAT WE CAN CELEBRATE ON OUR ANNIVERSARY AND WHAT WE HAVE TO WORK ON

Nuclear Times was born in 1982, the year the anti-nuclear weapons movement exploded onto the national scene. It was a heady, intoxicating time.

The movement had momentum. On March 2, 161 towns in Vermont passed freeze resolutions. On March 10, Ted Kennedy and Ed Markey introduced freeze resolutions in Congress. In April, Ground Zero held a week-long series of community meetings on the threat of nuclear war in more than 700 cities and towns.

Two months later, on June 12, one million people gathered in Central Park in support of the freeze. Many of the participants received a four-page tabloid called *Nuclear Reactions*, a preview of what was to become *Nuclear Times*. The magazine, which was created to help a wide range of peace and disarmament groups talk to one another, was published for the first time in October of that year. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party adopted the freeze as part of their platform and in November voters in nine states and several major cities passed freeze referenda. Polls indicated that almost 80 percent of the public agreed with the freeze proposal.

The peace movement took the discussion about nuclear weapons out of the hands of the experts and made it a public issue. And we saw the Reagan administration's rhetoric change from talking about "winning limited, protracted nuclear war" in 1981 and 1982 to "rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete" in 1983.

Over the last five years the peace movement has had a number of significant, if limited, successes in Congress. Local groups have found many ways to work in their communities on peace issues. Even so, we are no closer to stopping the arms race today than we were in 1982.

Many factors lie behind the problems of the peace movement, including much that is beyond our control. We would point to one factor, however, as critical: an inability to deal with that old question, "What about the Russians?"

The American public's attitude to nuclear weapons is shaped by two factors: fear of nuclear war and fear of the Soviet Union, or perhaps more generally, a fear of any external threat. The dominant framework for most people is the concept of "Peace Through Strength." The success of the freeze was due in part to its stress on bilateralism and therefore being acceptable within that framework.

But by avoiding the question about the Soviet threat and anti-communism, the peace movement also found it difficult to deal with the citizens and members of Congress who supported the freeze along with the MX, the Trident II, the invasion of Grenada and Star Wars. As long as fear of the Soviet Union and communism is unchallenged and containment doctrine dominates American foreign policy, we will find it extremely difficult to move beyond arms control, or more precisely, beyond stabilizing the arms race.

We don't pretend there are any easy answers about how to deal with anti-communism. But as Katherine Magraw notes in her article on the Public Agenda Foundation (page 29), public attitudes are changing about the Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet relations.

The peace movement also has an immediate opportunity: Nicaragua. The U.S. effort to overthrow the government of Nicaragua is "justified" in the name of containment. But we can apply concepts of alternative security to the contra war. PACCA, a group whose acronym stands for Policy Alternatives for the Carribean and Central America, has been doing valuable work in this area (see page 27).

Congress will be voting on aid to the contras sometime this fall. The vote brings up three questions: Will our country continue to wage a shameful war against a tiny, relatively undeveloped nation? Will the peace movement allow Cold Warriors to shape the debate on foreign policy in 1988 and beyond? Will the peace movement directly challenge the hold anti-communism has had on U.S. foreign policy for the past 40 years?

We welcome an open debate in the pages of *Nuclear Times* on these and other questions. The peace movement has had some successes and some failures since 1982. Now it is time to hunker down and clarify what we should be doing for the next five years. □

LETTERS

Governmental Gaffe

One of the things that makes the United States so easy to hate is its ignorance of other parts of the world and its arrogance in assuming that all other systems of government are modeled after it.

You demonstrate the point beautifully in your May/June 1987 issue in the cover story sidebar "Rocking the Boat in the South Pacific" when you say that "Presidential elections [in New Zealand] are scheduled for September. . . ." For your information, New Zealand is still part of the Commonwealth, has a parliamentary system and not a presidential one, and, given the example presently being set by the present U.S. presidential office, is probably thankful for both.

Max M. Wolfe
Jemseg, New Brunswick
Canada

You neglected to mention that the sentence preceding the one you cited read: "This summer the New Zealand Parliament will vote on legislation. . . ." The sidebar also referred to David Lange as New Zealand's "prime minister." These references to the country's parliament and prime minister indicate that our use of the adverb "presidential" was simply an editing error.

Amerika's Detractors

The article "Amerika Bombs" in your May/June issue states that the ABC miniseries "was attacked from both the left and the right." By process of elimination, are those concerned about the program who are not on the right necessarily on the left? How about taking into account the range of people not on the left whose essential decency was affronted? Have you stopped to consider that the confusers of the public mind would just love to have those described as questioning this program as members of the left? Do we need to consider that the thinking of the best intentioned people, including your staff, has been dyed with stereotypes?

Robert Dubroff
Fairfield University
Fairfield, Connecticut

Citizen Diplomacy

Michael Shuman's brief piece on the legality of municipal foreign policies unfortunately repeats a widely held myth, namely that the U.S. Constitution vests exclusive authority in foreign policymaking in the president. Though Shuman correctly observes that municipalities have other constitutional guarantees allowing them considerable latitude, he does not speak directly to this point.

The simple fact is there is no such stipulation. Article II, Section 2 names the president "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," and grants him the power to make treaties and appoint ambassadors. The last two powers are severely tempered by requiring the consent of the Senate, thus giving the legislature veto power over his decisions. Furthermore, Article I, Section 8 gives considerable direct power over foreign affairs to Congress, charging it to: "provide for the common Defence," "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations . . . and with the Indian Tribes," "declare War, grant letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make rules concerning Captures on Land and Water," "raise and support Armies," "provide and maintain a Navy," and "make rules for the Government Regulation of the land and naval Forces." Congress is also given primary control over the militia, which was considered an essential part of national defense at the time.

Indeed, a case can be made that the president's only roles are as commander in chief and top negotiator. Neither of these are true policymaking positions. Thus, there is no basis for the claim that the president has "exclusive authority."

In the wake of the Iran-contra mess and the Central American policy crisis, there has been an upsurge of statements defending presidential supremacy over foreign policy that the public and the news media both seem to take at face value. If we are going to seriously challenge the U.S. role in world affairs, we must make it clear there are legitimate avenues for changing foreign policy other than presidential elections.

J. Erik Christensen
Davidson, North Carolina

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Nuclear Times (ISSN 0734-5836) is published six times per year by Nuclear Times, Inc., 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 332-9222. U.S. subscription rate is $21 per year. Mexico and Canada, add $5 per year for postage; other countries, add $17 for airmail only. Bulk rates apply. Please refer to account number at top of mailing label when corresponding about subscriptions. Unsolicited manuscripts, photographs, and artwork are welcome and must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The magazine cannot be held responsible for loss of or damage to unsolicited materials.

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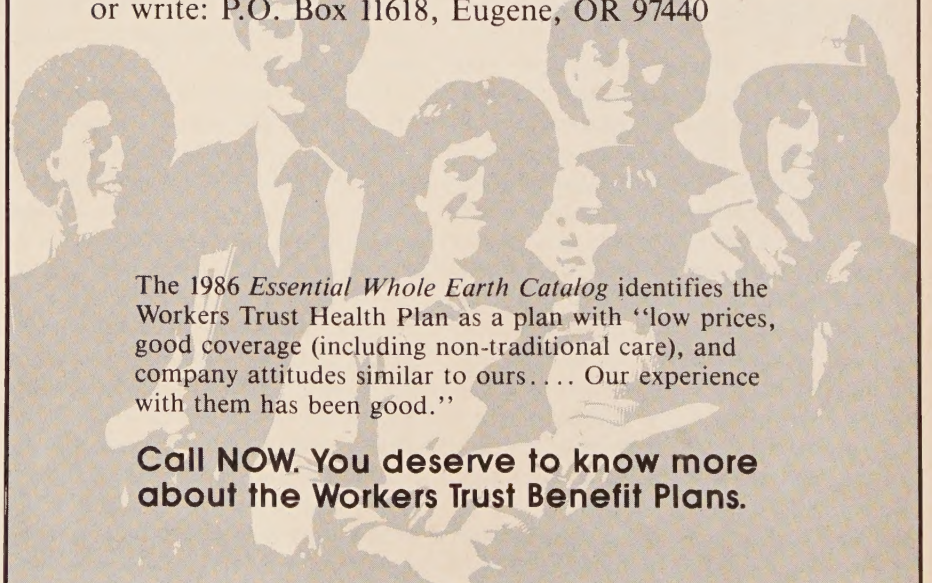

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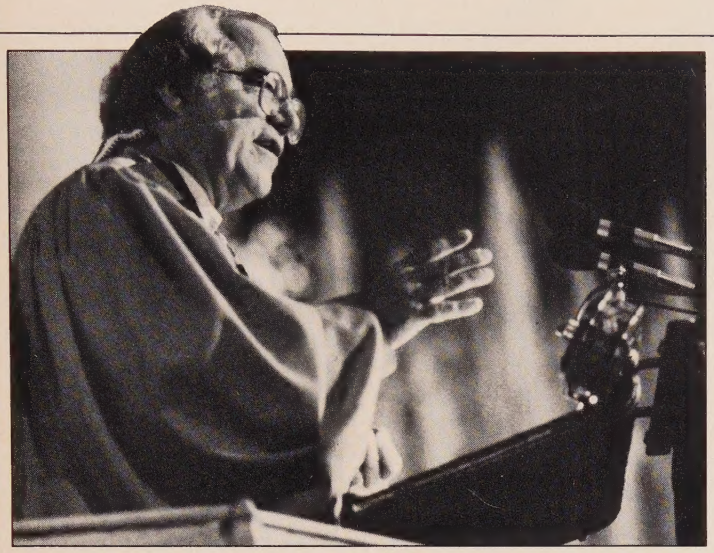


The Rev. William Sloane Coffin says goodbye to his congregation.

COFFIN TO HEAD SANE/ FREEZE

THE REV. WILLIAM SLOANE Coffin, Jr., announced on July 19 that he had accepted the job as the first president of SANE/ FREEZE, the recently merged national disarmament group.

Speaking from the pulpit of the Riverside Church in New York City, where for 10 years he had served as senior minister, Coffin told the congregation that although "it is heartwrenching to leave," he had accepted the new post because "I saw the invitation as representing for me a full-time peace and justice ministry."

Coffin predicted that with his help, SANE/FREEZE "could double its present 180,000 membership out of the religious community alone" during the next year.

Coffin, 63, will start working for SANE/FREEZE on a part-time basis in late September and work full-time starting in January 1988.

The selection of Coffin, an anti-war activist, concluded a four-month search for a president. A search committee recommended Rev. Coffin to the 100-member joint board, which offered him the job on July 18.

David Cortright, a SANE/ FREEZE co-director, praised Coffin as "one of the people who will go down in history as one of the great proponents of peace and justice." He said Coffin would bring "an incredible eloquence" to his role as the organization's "principle advocate out on the road." Because Coffin "really knows everybody in the academic, religious, peace and justice, and funding communities," he would help "get the money to flow and members to join," Cortright said.

Cortright said that Coffin's job would be to educate and motivate people: "He understands the link between disarmament and military intervention, and between peace and justice issues."

—Robert Schaeffer

END'S NEW BEGINNING

THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE Western European peace movement's annual meeting in mid-July were cautiously optimistic, if not upbeat. Some observers said it was the first time the movement has shown any life since the deployment of cruise missiles four years ago.

It was the sixth annual European Nuclear Disarmament (END) convention. One thousand activists from 40 countries spent four days in Coventry, England to discuss how to respond to current U.S.-Soviet negotiations over Euromissiles, "new thinking" in the Soviet Union, and East-West relations in Europe. They attended seminars on such diverse topics as grassroots resistance, nuclear free zones, Chernobyl, enemy images in popular culture, Afghanistan, and Third World intervention.

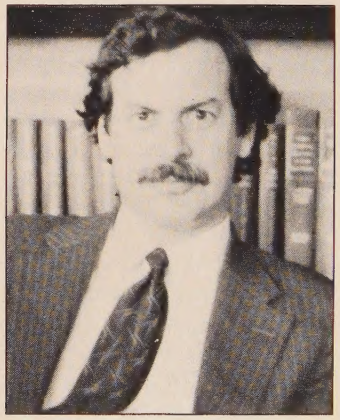
Perhaps most striking was the positive outlook many attendees had. Although the spring election results in West Germany and Britain disappointed peace movement activists, the prospects of a U.S.-Soviet agreement on the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in their backyards has buoyed their spirits.

"The peace movement has effectively changed public opinion and the rhetoric of the politicians, moving them into an arms control agenda," the British historian E.P. Thompson said at a press conference during the convention. "Overcoming the [Western and Eastern] blocs is not a utopian 'New Jerusalem.' It has now been put on the political agenda."

As in the United States, peace activists in Europe are moving away from protesting particular weapons systems toward trying to develop concrete ideas on how to integrate a non-provocative military strategy into a post-Cold War foreign policy. This will be particularly difficult for the European peace movement when Great Britain, France and West Germany are discussing joint military planning that could undercut an INF treaty.

Robert Borosage, director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., told the convention that no matter which party takes the White House in 1988, the United States will pull troops out of Europe and reduce expenditures in NATO. He challenged European peace activists to work for force reductions in both the Western and Eastern blocs: "Europe will have to choose [between a European troop build-up and conventional force reduction]. A peace movement dedicated to common security can have a historical role in changing the course of Europe and civilization. In the next five years you will be once again on the world stage."

—Elliott Negin



Robert Borosage of IPS.

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DISPATCHES

Sam Nunn calls for a narrow interpretation of the ABM Treaty.

SENATE DISPUTE OVER ABM TREATY

SINCE JANUARY, THE REAGAN administration and key members of Congress have waged a highly contentious debate over the fate of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. The administration is threatening to reinterpret the treaty—which would render it meaningless—or abandon it entirely.

The administration's attack on the treaty—which has been supported by all previous administrations since it was signed in 1972—stems from its single-minded pursuit of the Star Wars missile defense program. The ABM Treaty was negotiated to limit ballistic missile defenses and the Reagan administration fears that the treaty will frustrate the dream of rendering nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." Proponents of ABM and Star Wars both claim the same objective: to make us safe from nuclear weapons. The choice is between Star Wars and arms control.

The treaty, according to David Riley, the director of the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, "embodies a fundamental truth that nuclear weapons are basically different than other weapons and cannot be defended against." Riley fears that the administration is misguidedly preparing to abandon an arms control agreement that has worked for 15 years to prevent an offense-defense arms race.

The administration's broad interpretation of the treaty's language poses the chief threat to its survival. When the treaty was negotiated the parties agreed to ban the development and testing of mobile and space-based anti-ballistic missile systems. The administration argues that the 1972 ban applies only to technology based on physical principles known at that time. Therefore, in its view, defensive systems based on "exotic" technologies, such as certain laser weapons currently being researched as part of the Star Wars program, are permitted by the treaty.

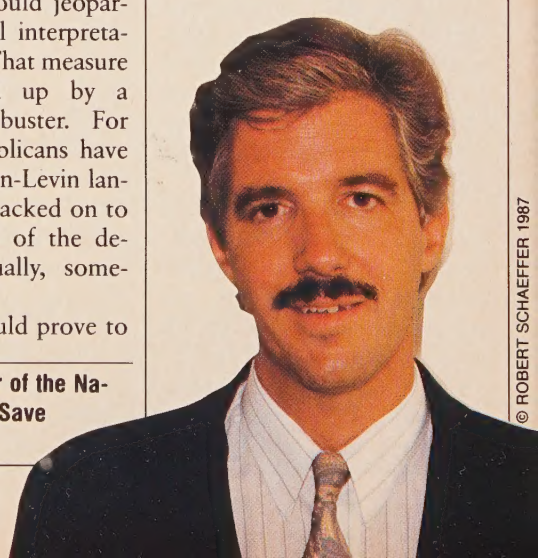
The traditional view of the treaty, which the Senate ratified by a vote of 88 to 2, holds that the treaty prohibits the development and testing of mobile and space-based ABM systems regardless of the technology used in that system.

Congress is currently leading the fight to ensure that the administration does not jettison the treaty. This spring both the House and the Senate have considered the ABM Treaty dispute during debates over the 1988 defense bill. The House approved an amendment sponsored by Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) that would bar a unilateral administration move to the broad interpretation. In the Senate, Sens. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and Carl Levin (D-Mich.), cosponsored a measure to force the administration to consult with Congress before it takes any action that would jeopardize the traditional interpretation of the treaty. That measure has been bottled up by a lengthy floor filibuster. For now, Senate Republicans have prevented the Nunn-Levin language from being tacked on to the Senate version of the defense bill. Eventually, something must give.

This autumn could prove to be crucial for the treaty. The congressional deadlock will, if past years are any indication, be resolved at the end of the budget year at the close of September. Last year, the House supported legislation on SALT II and nuclear testing while the Senate did not. Only under the gun, with the continuing resolution necessary to fund the entire government in jeopardy—and with the Reykjavik summit two days away—did the House back down.

This time, however, it is not clear that Nunn, Levin and Aspin will back down. Nunn stated during the Senate filibuster that "it's not my bill; it's the Department of Defense bill. If they don't want a defense bill this year, I'm fairly relaxed about it." If there is no defense authorization bill this year, as appears likely, it would mark the first time since 1961 that the Congress failed to pass the measure. Come October, the Congress may force the Reagan administration to accept congressional limitations on the Star Wars program, which confine it to parameters established by the traditional ABM Treaty interpretation, to keep the government operating.

—Bruce Auster



David Riley, director of the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty.

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BACK IN THE U.S.S.R.

American and Soviet peace marchers walk through Moscow.

IN THE TOWN OF TORZHOK, U.S.S.R., thousands of Soviet citizens lined the streets as a ragged group of Americans and Soviets, already on the road for 10 days, passed by in the drizzling rain. Many of spectators had never seen an American before and had turned out to see an unprecedented display of citizen diplomacy: 230 Americans and 200 Soviets walking from Leningrad to Moscow to promote nuclear disarmament.

The group was welcomed with flowers, gifts, tears and hugs. Old women stood and cried as they watched the procession slowly make its way through town. Veterans of the "Great Patriotic War"—World War II—with medals pinned to their jackets, shook the hands of marchers as they passed.

"For four decades these people had been told that Americans were the enemy," said Allan Affeldt, president of International Peace Walk, which organized the month-long march. "When we came face to face, it was 40 years of emotional catharsis. Suddenly everyone knew there was no justification for what was going on between our countries."

In town after town the marchers received similar outpourings of good will. In Novgorod, a city of 250,000, estimates put the number of Soviets who lined the streets for miles to catch a glimpse of the "Amerikanskis" at nearly 100,000.

The Soviet people have paid a steep price for their nuclear arsenal and the call for disarmament is widespread. Each year the country spends an estimated 12 to 14 percent of its gross national product on defense—compared to approximately 5 percent by the United States. This huge outlay of resources for arms has taken a dramatic toll on the Soviet economy. Inadequate housing forces families to live in cramped apartments with relatives and grown children. Vegetables and fruits are scarce much of the year and long lines remain a frustrating part of life. Consumer items are limited and expensive, while sewage systems in the rural areas are rudimentary at best.

In the Soviet Union, people have a personal stake in peace, says Igor Filin of the state-sponsored Soviet Peace Committee. "If the arms race is ending it means their standard of living is rising."

But the call for peace goes much deeper. The Soviet Union was ravaged by Germany in the Second World War. The Nazis, in a path of destruction that left the country crippled and 20 million dead, advanced to the outskirts of Moscow before they were stopped.

"In our country there is a very strong anti-war feeling coming from World War II," says Filin. "It's not abstract."

The U.S.-Soviet walk was the brainchild of Allan Affeldt, a veteran of the Great Peace March of 1986. When the Great Peace March fell apart in Barstow, California amidst recriminations and confusion, it was Affeldt who led it out of the desert and into financial solvency.

Once back on the road, says Affeldt, the more than 400 marchers faced a common refrain from people they met on the 3,700-mile walk: nuclear disarmament is fine, but can we trust the Soviets?

Fearing that this mistrust was stoking the arms race almost as much as new technologies were, the marchers decided that the "evil empire" had to be given a human face. Citizen diplomacy had to take to the streets.

The logistics of Soviets and Americans walking the 360-mile journey, however, bordered on the impossible. The Americans, many of whom took part in the Great Peace March, wanted to walk the comparatively short distance from Leningrad to Moscow. The Soviets wanted to ride a bus most of the way. A compromise was worked out where the marchers rode buses and boats at least half of the way and walked the remainder. Hotel rooms were interspersed with campsites.

For many of the walkers, the grueling 16-18 hour days of meeting with Soviet citizens on the Leningrad highway, meeting with workers in their factories and schoolchildren at their camps, was taxing. By the end of the month most were sick, and many were physically and emotionally exhausted. But all agreed it was first step toward greater understanding, an unprecedented first step.

"We are two great countries," said Allan Mukhamedov, a 40-year-old school teacher from Tashkent. "The more we know about each other the better. If we both think that peace is a necessary thing, this unites us."

Affeldt agreed. "At a very minimum we've exposed hundreds of thousands of Soviets to Americans," he said. "They will never think of us as the enemy. We're driving a very gentle wedge into the system."

—Ellen Hosmer

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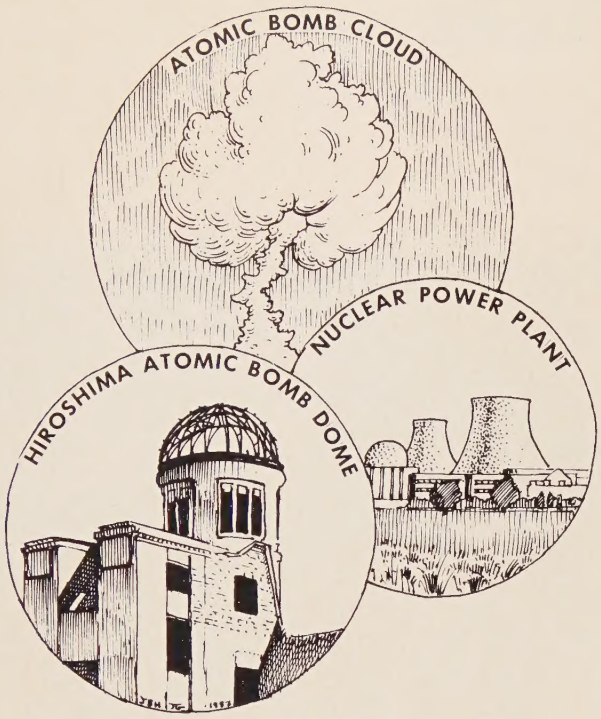

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OPEN DOORS

THE HOUSE IS OPEN TO ANTI-NUCLEAR LOBBYISTS BUT THE SENATE IS STILL CLOSED

More than eight years into a massive U.S. arms buildup, it is tempting to conclude that the peace movement's impact on national policy has been minimal: no strategic arms reductions, no halt in nuclear testing, $10 billion spent on Star Wars and renewed efforts to expand civilian defense. But appearances can be deceiving. More recently, Congress has regularly challenged the administration's plans and changed the political climate. And the peace movement's contribution to this change has been crucial.

How much have congressional attitudes toward nuclear weapons issues changed since Reagan took office and the Republicans captured the Senate? For many who work in the movement, there is no memory of life before Ronald Reagan.

"People forget that in 1980 liberals who supported arms control were becoming an endangered species," says Senate staffer Doug Waller, author of *Congress and the Nuclear Freeze* [reviewed on page 31]. "A good bit of the liberal Senate, people like George McGovern, John Culver [and] Frank Church, was wiped out in the Reagan landslide, and the House didn't fare much better. Even before that, when the SALT II Treaty was being negotiated, Carter kept his distance from the peace community and played to conservative forces. Public opinion seemed to require that approach."

By contrast to 1980, congressional activism on arms control issues is now at an all-time high, due in part to a strategy adopted by a coalition of national organizations combining grassroots electoral work, issue expertise, sophisticated lobbying and patient cultivation of leadership.

Freeze Brought the Thaw. The nuclear freeze movement galvanized public opinion in the early 1980s by linking a core of dedicated activists to teachers, lawyers, doctors and scientists who feared nuclear war. These groups learned to target elections, provide money and volunteers, and make opposition to arms control a political liability. This direct involvement on the electoral level has clearly contributed to congressional activism on arms control.

Congressional activism on these issues has been on the rise as the administration's power to make policy without interference has diminished—major decisions about nuclear weapons are no longer made without public scrutiny. Public concern about the threat of nuclear war and spiraling budgetary pressures forced Congress to take a more active role. In the current environment of scarcity and belt-tightening, even the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee has been moved to investigate publicly whether the trillion-dollar buildup has improved U.S. security. Veteran staffers on the committee admit that never would have happened five years ago.

The fiscal crunch has also helped turn the tables on the administration. The Pentagon requested $321 billion for fiscal year 1987, but Congress slashed that figure. This year the Pentagon request was down to $312 billion for FY 1988, and Congress still cut more than $16 billion. By continuing to press for massive growth in military spending despite spiraling deficits, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and other administration spokesmen have been badly discredited on Capitol Hill. "It's a charade," says one Senate Budget Committee aide, "Weinberger still comes up to testify, but his testimony doesn't carry any weight."

Healthier Roots. Grassroots lobbying of Congress is one area where the peace movement has made enormous strides, especially in the House. Representatives for the major national organizations in Washington, D.C. and key activists around the country together form a network that has vastly improved access to congressional decision-makers. The result is that lawmakers are more accountable to their constituents.

In the past three years, this coalition has helped encourage an unprecedented burst of legislative activity. Congress has frequently instructed President Reagan on arms control and military policy. Congress capped the MX missile program at 50 missiles where 500 had originally been proposed. Congress has refused to continue development of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons for three years running, restricted Star Wars funding, dragged its feet on production of chemical weapons and issued strict instructions on treaty compliance. It has

(Continued on page 12)

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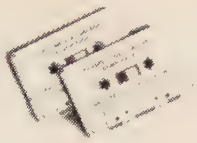

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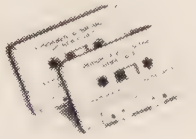

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NATION/Continued from page 11

even flirted with halting the U.S. nuclear weapons testing program. These achievements have been accomplished through the development of new working procedures for House members and grassroots lobbyists in Washington.

The Senate, however, has been resistant to such changes, and continues to block many arms control initiatives, despite Democratic gains in the 1986 elections. The continued dominance of Senate leadership positions and key committee chairs by conservatives has neutralized the addition of new liberals. "Sam Nunn, John Stennis and Robert Byrd still set the agenda around here," Waller notes.

Arms control lobbyists also complain that senators are inaccessible and deal with too many issues, giving insufficient attention to arms control. "Some senators delegate these issues entirely to their aides, who can end up negotiating directly with members of Congress in conference," says one lobbyist. "That can make the aides themselves pretty egotistical and unapproachable."

New Operating Procedures. "In the House, at least, the peace movement is more plugged into the process there than we once thought possible," says Charles Monfort, legislative director at the Union of Concerned Scientists. Monfort says the changes have been the incremental result of learning from disappointments and not repeating mistakes.

"We used to blame our losses in House-Senate conference committees on our lack of access to the House Armed Services Committee members and staff," he explains. "When we learned to do that better, we blamed our losses on the chairman [Les Aspin (D-Wis.)]. Then we got some of our issue leaders appointed as special arms control conferees to shore up Aspin—we won on a few issues, like ASATs, and worked to enlist the new House leadership. But even with Speaker Wright's vocal personal commitment on the SALT II compliance issue, we lost. You can only go so far without the Senate."

How did the movement break down traditional barriers and gain improved access to the House? "The Hill revolves around personal relationships," says Jerry Hartz, a former SANE lobbyist now working for House Deputy Majority Whip David Bonior (D-Mich.). "The arms control community has just been good at developing those relationships. It's not easy to bring members along without ticking them off—it's a constant tension between pummeling and cajoling."

Hartz says the MX battles of three and four years ago broke down the most barriers and made pro-arms control positions much more attractive. "The personal experience of many members who supported the MX was so unpleasant, they said 'I'm not going to go through that again.' The MX was great preventive medicine—now fewer people jump off in the wrong direction from the start on SDI or other issues."

Coalition lobbyists also made concerted efforts to develop more and better leaders in Congress. "It takes more than being right on the merits," says the legislative director for a Texas representative, "because these positions don't sell themselves. What changed things was key legislators becoming convinced not only that their constituents want arms control, but that there is political capital to be gained from working hard on these issues—we can win against tremendous odds."

Having More Fun. Hartz suggests that legislators like working on arms control more than other issues. "I see members really wanting to prove themselves on this stuff. Now they share the same concerns and goals as the groups, and always consider what the groups are going to think about this or that strategy."

Rep. Marty Russo (D-Ill.) had another explanation for the superb working relationships between members and arms control groups: "You're just a fun bunch to work with," he told the lobbyists after House victories this spring.

Waller and others see a movement that has grown up, has done the hard work of educating the public about nuclear weapons and training activists to have a real impact. "Because of this increased sophistication, support for arms control has changed from being a political liability to a political asset," says Waller.

The informal coalition of arms control organizations in Washington has begun a major effort to gain similar access and influence in the Senate. Grassroots organizations will start by asking the newest crop of liberal senators to do more, particularly those senators who until recently worked with the arms control team in the House. "It's a very different institution," Waller cautions, "filled with its own little State Departments, and even a lame duck president can derail the arms control agenda by his actions."

UCS's Monfort acknowledges that the movement still has its work cut out for it: "Obviously, we need to do more in the House—and in the Senate." □

David Lewis is a lobbyist for the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

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— edited by Craig Comstock

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A Week of Education on the Nuclear Arms Race

OUR FUTURE, OUR CHOICE

November 9–15, 1987

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A variety of programs at campuses and communities across the country will foster a basic understanding of the history of the arms race, U.S.–Soviet relations, the impact of the arms race on society, the real possibilities for negotiating deep arms reductions, and how individuals and groups can play an effective role in shaping the future direction of policies to reverse the arms race.

UCS and UCAM will provide organizing manuals, discussion guides, references to speakers, posters and other help, but it is up to you to help bring this WEEK OF EDUCATION to the people in your campus and community. For more information on how you can help, please return the form below.

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STRATEGIC REALIGNMENT

THE U.S. AND NATO SHIFT MILITARY FORCES AND SEEK NEW PARTNERS IN POST-INF EUROPE

NATO began deploying U.S. Pershing II missiles in Western Europe in 1979.

The "global double-zero" option for getting rid of all intermediate-range land-based nuclear missiles will make it easier for the United States to redeploy its forces from Europe to the South and from land to sea. And by depriving Europe of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the Reagan administration expects it European allies to take up a greater "share of the burden" for NATO defense and thereby expand the European market for new U.S.-developed arms technologies. Meanwhile, the Pentagon will transfer its cruise missiles to warships—in the North Atlantic, Baltic and Mediterranean (where they can be aimed to the South as well as the North)—where it meant to put them all along and where they will not draw the attention of protesting civilians.

However, an INF (intermediate-range nuclear forces) zero option is not merely a technical redeployment, it is a major political event. The big stakes are political, and what counts is the impact on Europe. The Soviets have accepted a deal that is unfavorable for them in strictly military terms, hoping for political benefits that will make possible the start of a process of mutual disarmament in Europe.

The United States wants Western Europeans to spend more to counter the Soviet threat. But the Soviet threat is steadily losing credibility, thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev's readiness to agree to mutual disarmament of not only nuclear missiles but of conventional forces as well.

As the threat from the East fades, attention turns to the threat from the South. The U.S. Army concept of "AirLand Battle 2000," developed in August 1982, foresaw a period of conflict over control of resources between the older industrialized nations and emerging Third World countries. In the United States, the Third World threat is presented as a mere variant or "surrogate" of the Soviet threat, but in Europe the threat is said to come from Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, or simply growing populations and poverty. Fear of poor immigrants is used in all the rich countries to build up a sense of being threatened from the South.

The transfer of the "threat" from the East to the South tends to pull apart the Western alliance, however. The United Kingdom and France—nuclear and Atlantic powers with traditions of overseas military engagement—can most easily be drawn into the global orientation of the United States. For other continental European nations and above all for Germany, the major threat begins and ends in the East. Thus the political impact of the current shifts in strategic orientation shows signs of being quite different in France and in Germany, the two countries that are supposed to be coming together as the strong "axis" of the "European pillar."

European leaders who forced missile deployment on their protesting populations have been dismayed at the alacrity with which the Americans decided they didn't need the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe after all. Pentagon hawks now ridicule the once-cherished arguments that American Pershing II and cruise missiles were needed to "couple" Europe to the United States or to fill out the escalation ladder of the "flexible response" strategy.

The Pentagon's flexible response to the question of what the Pershing and cruise missiles were really for is a healthy lesson in the relativity of strategic rationalizations of modern weapons systems. The front-of-the-shop argument was that they were needed to balance the Soviet SS-20s. Way, way in the back of the shop the limited-nuclear-war theorists saw the Pershing II as a potential first strike weapon that could "decapitate" the Soviet Union by a "surgical strike" on the Kremlin. This lunatic idea seems to have been dropped. It was also argued that the cruise missiles were necessary to get through improved Warsaw Pact anti-aircraft. Mathias Rust, meanwhile, flew to Red Square in a Cessna.

A 1981 Library of Congress research report ("The Modernization of NATO's Long-Range Theater Nuclear Forces") spotted the most rational explanation for why the United States deployed cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe: that the cruise missiles were assigned quickly to Europe to save the technology from arms control at a time when the Soviet Union wanted to prohibit their development. This mission has been accomplished. The Pentagon planned all along to do what it is now doing, that is, as British Labour MP Robin Cook put it, "pepper the seas with sea-launched cruise missiles."

The Euromissiles have served another purpose: they have shaken, perhaps fatally, confidence in the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). The Pershing IIs in particular undercut MAD theory because the missiles possess the capacity to launch a war-fighting first strike. The missiles demonstrated that technological speed and precision were undermining the

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mutual suicide standoff and making war possible even with nuclear weapons. In the 1980s, MAD has been rejected by two opposite schools of thought: the peace movements, which condemn it as dangerous and immoral, and the gung-ho war fighters who are interested in weapons they can use.

The zero option initially seemed to be an offer the Soviets could not accept because it implied a symmetry between U.S. land-based missiles in Europe and Soviet land-based missiles in the Soviet Union. The symmetry was illusory because the Soviets did not have an equivalent of the Pershing II aimed at Washington, D.C., nor any piece of land on which to put such a weapon. The geography is not symmetrical. The United States has unlimited access to the oceans and prefers sea deployment.

While the world's fearful attention has been focused on land-based missiles, the United States has been buildling up its sea-based forces. Now, by agreeing to eliminate a whole category of land-based missiles without any sea-based counterpart, the Soviets have given up something for which they have no ready substitute. The United States, on the other hand, sees two ways of compensating for the missiles it takes out of Europe: deploying its own sea and airborne forces, and encouraging its European partners to deploy their own.

Momentarily, common hostility to the zero option may draw the French and German defense establishments closer together. They have shared a common desire to sabotage the zero option and have been frustrated at being unable to do so. Almost every day, French and German officials make new statements about the need for closer Franco-German defense cooperation. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's suggestion of a joint Franco-German brigade was snatched up eagerly by the French government. American observers look on approvingly at what seems an inevitable and merely sensible unification process between Western European allies. But there may be less to this Franco-German love match than meets the eye.

The French are the eager ones. The prospect of nuclear disarmament throws the French establishment into a panic. French defense minister André Giraud has called the zero option a "European Munich." His Socialist predecessor Charles Hernu (the man responsible for sinking Greanpeace's *Rainbow Warrior*) has warned that if Pershing II and cruise missiles are taken out of Europe, "France is going to be the converging point of the efforts of all the self-proclaimed pacifists, antimilitarists, anti-security people. We could even be exposed to terrorist acts."

French fears are primarily economic. In presenting the record arms procurement planning bill to the French National Assembly last November, Defense Minister Giraud called for promoting the role of defense as "a veritable locomotive of the economy." But the cost of keeping up a world class military machine is skyrocketing beyond France's capacity to pay for it. Collaboration with other European partners, and above all with the richest one—Germany—is absolutely essential to the continuation of French military-industrial projects.

The situation is contradictory. The economic and technological capacity of European nation states for independent national defense is vanishing. Yet psychologically and strategically there is no concept of "West European defense" or Franco-German defense to fit the economic dictates.

The French establishment has discovered that the Germans resent having their country being seen by France as a potential firing range for nuclear artillery, and French leaders now make speeches stressing their fond desire to defend Germany as if it were their own. But how France's nuclear arsenal could be used to defend rather than destroy Germany has yet to be worked out.

While the vast majority of Germans welcomed the zero option, the West German defense establishment is not happy.

Bonn Defense Minister Manfred Wörner and the so-called "steel helmet" wing of Christian Democrats were thrown into consternation by U.S. readiness to abandon the long-range missiles required for the new deep-strike military posture only recently sold to NATO under the label of FOFA or "Follow On Forces Attack" by retiring NATO commander-in-chief General Bernard Rogers. The idea of FOFA was to shift the nuclear battlefield to Eastern Europe. Now the Pentagon is talking about building up short-range nuclear weapons that would again make Germany the nuclear battlefield. But this has become politically impossible in Germany.

In fact, the removal of intermediate-range missiles on both sides amounts to a concrete step toward the "defensive defense" or "structural incapacity for attack" advocated by German Social Democrats. Recent Soviet proposals may be interpreted as tacit recognition by Gorbachev of the point the Social Democrats have been stressing for years in private talks: that the legitimate security concerns of the other side must be appreciated, and specifically that the Soviet Union must realize that however subjectively defensive, its capacity

(Continued on page 20)

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Douglas C. Waller

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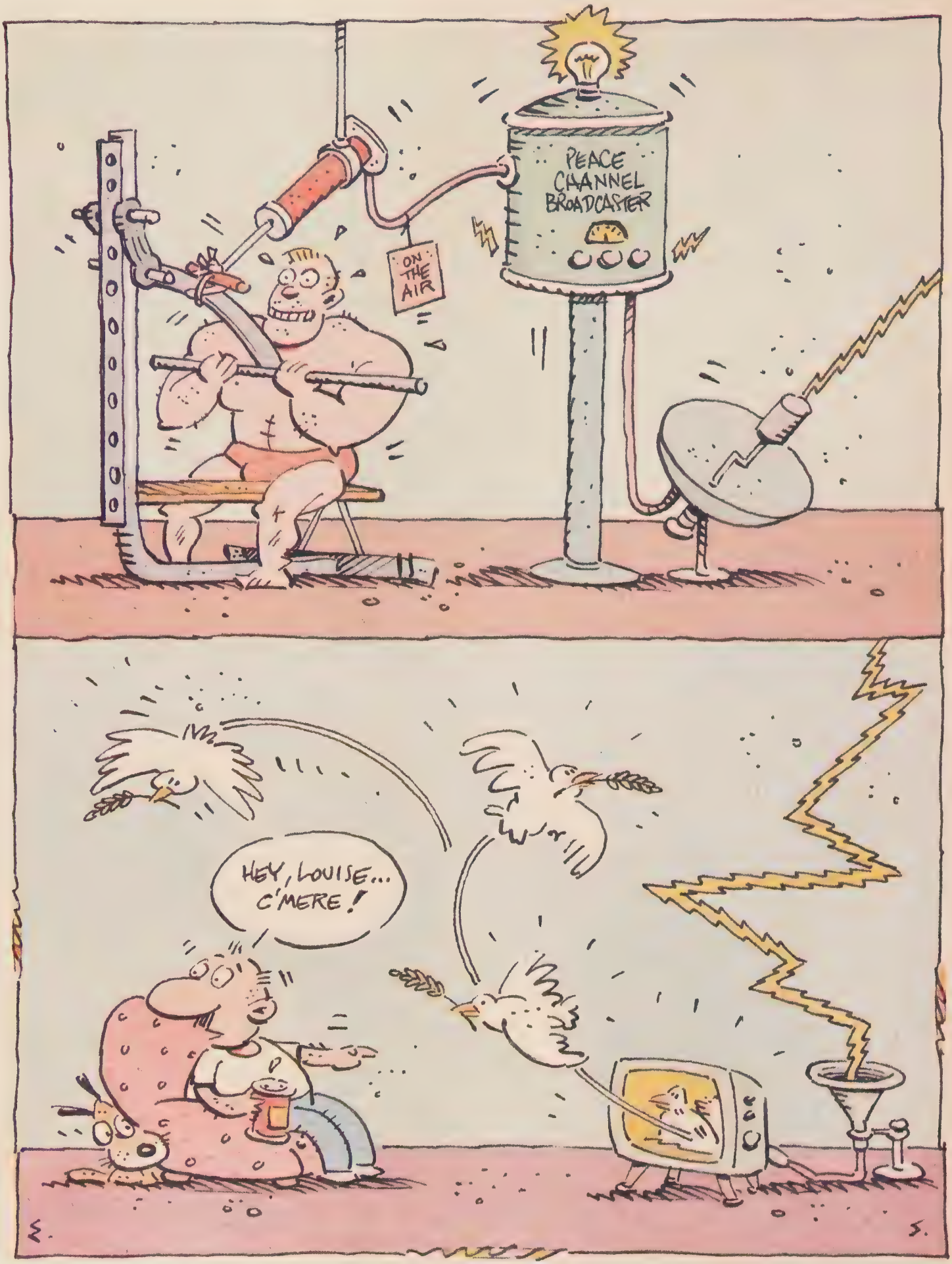

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PUMPING for PEACE

The makers of Soloflex exercise equipment have teamed up with the Oregon Peace Institute to launch a cable television channel devoted to peace issues.

BY PATRICK MAZZA

By mid-May, Marilyn and Jerry Wilson's experiment in marketing their exercise equipment by satellite television was almost over. It had been a rousing success. They found they could get much more for their advertising dollar by running extended product videos on a 24-hour-a-day marketing channel. But they also had a small problem. They had an extra two weeks to use their leased satellite transponder with nothing to broadcast.

The Oregon entrepreneurs then had a brainstorm. Why not use the remaining weeks of satellite time to "market" one of the most important "products" of our time, namely peace? Alarmed by the Armageddon messages of televangelists, with their implied approval of inevitable nuclear war, the Wilsons had been discussing the idea of peace television with activists and progressive business people in their state for months. Now it was time to act.

The Wilsons did have one documentary in their personal library. Earlier in the spring they had hooked up with Linda Moss of the Oregon Peace Institute, a nonprofit education organization. Moss, a native Oregonian, had just returned from a year in Washington, D.C., where she had produced television programs on disarmament for Ted Turner's Better World Society. Together, the Wilsons and Moss produced a video documentary on Hanford, the Department of Energy's largest weapons producing facility, which is about 200 miles upstream from Portland on the Columbia River in Washington state.

The Peace Channel idea was an answer to the most common problem that Moss and the Wilsons and all other independent film producers face—distribution. And with the availability of hundreds of peace-oriented films and videos, programming a 24-hour-a-day peace channel appeared feasible, even with only two weeks to put it together.

Moss, Marilyn, and Kathy Schneider, the Wilsons' administrative assistant, hit the phones. Connecting with audience-hungry producers around the country, and getting what Moss says was invaluable assistance from Ian Thiermann and the Educational Film and Video Project in Berkeley, California, the Peace Channel team rapidly assembled 22 documentaries and programmed them on a continuous playback loop. Among them were such films as Thiermann's *The Last Epidemic* and Vivienne Verdon-Roe's Academy-Award-winning *Women—For America, For the World*. The Peace Channel went on the air for the first week of June and stayed there until the transponder lease ran out in mid-month.

At least it stayed on the satellite. The only cable downlink in the product-programming experiment, a system in Fairfax County, Virginia, cut off the channel eight hours after it switched to peace video. The cable company, which is located just outside of Washington, D.C. in the Pentagon's home county, said the Peace Channel was too controversial, even though the company regularly broadcasts the doomsday sermons of Jimmy Swaggart.

The experiment told Moss and the Wilsons what they needed to know to make the Peace Channel available for cable subscribers. The channel needs guaranteed access to cable viewers, and the most direct route is to purchase time on local systems. So Moss and the Wilsons have prepared a four-hour sampling of peace programming for cable companies and have begun negotiating for time slots.

Depending on costs in specific markets, the Peace Channel—which is an official project of the Oregon Peace Institute—may take over entire channels or buy long segments of time on existing channels. The Wilsons plan to fund the initial time pur-

Patrick Mazza is on the staff of The Alliance, *a monthly newspaper in the Pacific Northwest.*

chases, and the channel will solicit donations on the air.

THE WILSONS KNOW MEDIA PROMOTION. They have been advertising their Soloflex exercise machines in magazines and on television since 1978. And they have taken what they have learned in marketing and started their own commercial agency, 53rd Street Advertising.

But they also have loftier goals. They want to use their expertise to promote peace, world law and the re-direction of the federal budget into projects that actually produce wealth—and they do not consider missiles and tanks to be in that category. Marilyn Wilson believes the peace movement must use television if it is to bring about those kind of changes. "We've found cable is the most cost-efficient media for our company, so it must be a good buy for peace," she says.

"Peace groups have concentrated on printed materials," she explains, "but people don't read. They watch TV. TV is where you're going to have to give people this information."

The Wilsons have helped devise a straightforward business plan for the Peace Channel.

"We'll refine it until we get it to pay," Jerry says, "and then we'll buy up every time slot that is available until the issue becomes, 'Lets give up these silly things before we kill ourselves and let's start operating in a way that is consistent with the principles we profess to believe in.'

The channel is initially targeting the Washington, D.C. (Fairfax County) and Los Angeles areas. The channel also plans buys in New Hampshire and Iowa early next year during the 1988 presidential election primaries.

"We want people in Iowa and New Hampshire to ask the candidates, 'What are you going to do about nuclear weapons? What are you going to do about the defense budget? What are you going to do about the contras?'" Marilyn says. "The more informed they are, the better questions they're going to ask. The candidates are going to wake up and find out that the people are really not that stupid."

"We want to help change the discussion in this country," the 40-year-old businesswoman says. "We want more people to talk about nuclear weapons. We want more people aware of the fact that Star Wars is going to cost too much money and it's dangerous. Our main goal is to make people more aware."

Faith in common sense keeps the Wilsons going. "The average person is going to save us," Marilyn says. "If people knew the facts, they would be alarmed and do something about it."

DEEP WITHIN THE "SILICON FOREST," THE complex of high technology and entrepreneurial companies west of Portland, set behind a massive Intel chip plant, sits Soloflex's two-story, gray, wood-paneled office-factory catching sunlight breaking through a typical Oregon sky. Light clouds. Chance of rain.

Somebody has pasted yellow, sticky-backed message sheets outside and inside the glass front door, "Do not let the cat out." Receptionist Jackie Gerling says that Buford, the office kitty, has just had a lip cancer operation and has had to stay inside for a week. "She hates everyone now," Gerling says.

"It's always been a lot harder to sell peace than war. War is our national sport. The Army is our national team."
—Jerry Wilson

The lobby is decorated with posters of precisely muscled young men. Not Rambo look-a-likes. Just conditioned. "Body by Soloflex," they read, advertising the versatile exercise machine that built Soloflex into a $15-million-a-year company in the nine years since Jerry and Marilyn Wilson founded it.

Sharing the lobby walls with the young men are other posters. One from the Center for Defense Information calls on the government to "End all nuclear explosions." Another shows the Colombia river salmon and stalks of Northwest wheat. "An Oregon Idea," it says. Still another says, "Phase out nuclear weapons. End nuclear waste." It was a campaign poster for 1986 ballot measures to clean up a nuclear waste site in Oregon, shut down the Trojan nuclear power plant and end nuclear weapons production in the state. The measures failed, but the Trojan and waste site initiatives are back for 1988. Some Oregon ideas just don't die.

Jerry and Marilyn are dressed casually—like everyone else in the office. He's wearing Levis and a Soloflex sweatshirt. Piles of paper fill most of a small conference table that does double duty as his desk.

The way our country is run drives Jerry Wilson nuts, and he's quick to tell you why. He says the "family-owned, stock corporation" known as "America, Inc." is being bankrupted by bad management that is making non-productive investment decisions. A self-described "army brat" with a strong southwestern drawl, the 43-year-old entrepreneur adds, "A guy can bust his ass building something. But if it can't be sold or used to reduce the cost of doing business, that labor has been totally wasted. There's nothing to show for it.

"It drives me crazy," he says with exasperation. "[The government] pays for expenses with credit. [It] pays for capitalizations with operating revenues. That's just the opposite of what anyone in a business would do."

Marilyn, a native New Mexican who shares Jerry's drawl, feels much the same way. "You can't ride to work on an MX missile, and you can't eat tanks," she says. "We're going to have to start building things that people use, not things that are put in a hole and then you hope to hell that you don't use them. If, say, we built a high-speed train system all over the country, that would have a lasting effect."

Jerry is calling for a stockholders' revolt.

"We've hired the government to make decisions in our name," he says. "I protest. I protest as a stockholder. What we need is a massive re-capitalization. There are 520,000 bridges in this country. Forty-five percent need work. Twenty percent are officially classified as dangerous. We've got an infrastructure to repair. We've got a complete new infrastructure to build."

Infrastructure is central to genuine economic renewal, Jerry argues. It is the country's "material handling system," and, "80 percent of the productivity in any factory comes from the material handling system," he says. "That's classic, college-textbook factory management."

The United States is being economically run down by "military welfarism," Jerry Wilson says. The only way out is to "again become a nation of bridge-builders and get our 'nightwatchmen's department' in line with regular costs. Then we'd become competitive again in the world marketplace. And we'd get our souls back."

GIVEN HIS BUSINESS, JERRY WILSON TALKS with many high-level professionals. He often asks them, "Does war lead to a stronger and better economy?"

"Most answer, 'Yes. What we need is a good war to get the economy moving again,'" he says. "I hear that over and over. It's just flabbergasting to me that anybody could be that blind. Nothing is more adverse to commercial interests than war.

"As for some foreign threat," he adds, "didn't Ho Chi Minh teach us that you can't beat a well-armed, well-disciplined army militia? Didn't we teach that to King George? Don't we have any faith in the 220 million people in this country who would make it physically impossible for any force to occupy our country? The Russians are not a threat to us."

When Ronald Reagan in 1981 announced that nuclear war could be limited to Europe, Marilyn Wilson was determined to speak out against this idea. "I decided then that idiots were totally in control of a very dangerous weapon. It scared me out of my sleepy state."

To Marilyn, current U.S. foreign policy is a theater of the absurd: "Iran blows up discos and we get mad at Libya. Iraq blows up ships and we get mad at Iran. And we sell missiles to Iran so they can use them against our ships.

"Have you been reading about the B-1 Bomber?" she asks. "It literally costs its weight in gold, and it doesn't work. So what was Congress' answer? 'Let's spend more money and get it to work.' I can't believe they're so stupid.

"People ought to look at history," she says. "Before World War II the Japanese people and the German people allowed militarist politicians to overtake their countries. That's what's happening to our country right now."

THE WILSONS WANT TO DO SOMETHING about this situation, and they see television as the logical means.

Marilyn hopes people will be drawn in as they sit in their living rooms playing cable roulette with their remote control channel changers. "The [peace] films are good. They are entertaining," she says.

"Even with a hundred channels there still isn't much on TV," Jerry laughs. Then, more seriously, he adds, "Some people have stopped thinking about the issue because it's too painful. But I've never seen anyone watch these films without getting genuinely excited."

The Peace Channel team envisions a full-scale network. Besides transmitting a backlog of hundreds of quality peace documentaries to a wider audience, they hope to eventually broadcast peace-oriented movies and music videos, as well as produce their own programming, including soap operas, game shows and news. Marilyn says she's particularly interested in broadcasting movies about people who stand up for what they believe. The group also hopes to eventually purchase a Peace Channel satellite transponder, but that will depend on the financial successes of the less costly cable-time purchases.

Linda Moss of the Oregon Peace Center wants to emphasize programming that presents positive alternatives that go beyond current, fearful realities. "There's so much power in having a TV station focused in a positive direction," she says. "I see so much programming pushing the world in a hateful direction."

Jerry wants to transmit the message that the world must ban nuclear weapons and the United States must respect international law. He does not underestimate the task. "It's always been a lot harder to sell peace than war. War is our national sport. The Army is our national team."

With new media channels opening up, Jerry and Marilyn Wilson are optimistic that that attitude will change.

"When these channels become available, the nature of politics in America is going to become a lot more democratic than it ever was before," Jerry says. "People will be able to exercise their power because they will be finally getting some information." □

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for deep strikes can be interpreted as a sign of aggressive intent. Scrapping nuclear missiles may prove to be the first in a series of steps—negotiated and unilateral—toward dismantling offensive defense in favor of less threatening defensive structures.

Like saving the family treasures from a burning house, Wörner went all out to save the *Bundeswehr's* (German Army's) 72 Pershing IA missiles from the INF "disaster," referring to them as "third country systems"—the term used for French or British nuclear forces—and thus outside the scope of U.S.-Soviet negotiations, even though the United States has always kept control of their nuclear warheads. The Pershing IA missiles are the only NATO weapons that fall into the 500-1000 kilometer range of the "second zero option," the short-range intermediate nuclear forces whose elimination was offered by Gorbachev to complete the INF zero option. The *Bundeswehr* was equipped with the Pershing IAs back in 1963. They will be obsolete in a few years. The German defense establishment wants to hold onto them mainly to establish its right to possess, and eventually produce, long-range missiles.

Influential peace researcher Alfred Mechtersheimer considers that "German missiles with French warheads" are a "thinkable" possibility. Such a combination might provide a very special mission for the projected Franco-German brigade. Since France does not accept the NATO military command, the joint unit might be the seed of a Western European force separate from the United States and NATO.

The zero option has stimulated the sudden growth of an anti-American mood in the "steel helmet" right. The lament that the Americans are neglecting German security is the German "Gaullist" refrain needed to justify forming a European nuclear force with France. And French leaders may be ready for anything to keep nuclear weapons in Germany.

What U.S. observers see as a healthy recovery from the Gaullist malady in France amounts to an effort to export Gaullism to Germany, and is inspired by fear that West Germany will see a greater advantage in pursuing nuclear disarmament, East-West trade and eventual reunification than in pursuing joint weapons development. Although the French greatly exaggerate the peril of German reunification, their fears point to something quite real and immediate. If the choice is between profitable trade with Eastern Europe and a landscape littered with weapons that could destroy

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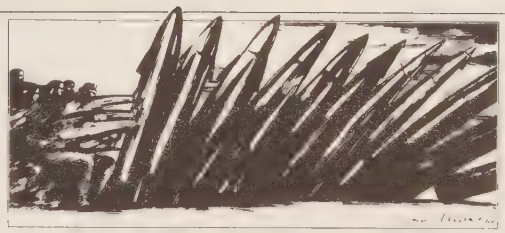

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DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1987 VOLUME II, NO. 3

SUMMIT JOURNALISM: A LOOK AHEAD; A LOOK BACK

Summit III: Six Leading Versions

By Jay Rosen

On June 18, 1979, Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev signed the SALT II treaty at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. For journalists this was obviously a front-page story. But what would that story say? The terms of the treaty had already been disclosed and there were only minor last-minute changes. That there was to be a signing was also known; that was the reason the two leaders had come to Vienna. The actual affixing of signatures would, of course, be described, but how much could be said about that?

In short, there was little to report in the papers the next day. Yet there was much to say. What the signing meant—for arms control, U.S.-Soviet relations, the world—was not at all clear; and because it wasn't clear it couldn't be reported simply as fact. The meaning of the event would have to be provided by journalists.

Reporters covering a possible summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev on medium- and short-range missiles will, no doubt, face a similar challenge. In providing day-after coverage of a summit, journalists will be asked not only to report the facts of the accord, which will probably be known in advance, but also to write about the wider significance of the treaty.

A review of the coverage of the SALT II signing shows that this is exactly what happened in 1979. *The Philadelphia Inquirer* saw the SALT II treaty as a temporary pause in an essentially hostile relationship. After a first paragraph that announced the signing in straightforward fashion, James McCartney wrote: "Nonetheless, it was clear that the arms race would not end with the treaty and that disagreements would remain between the two superpowers." The theme of *The Washington Post*'s story was similar. In his second paragraph, Martin Schram observed that the "muted celebration" in Vienna "suggested that the summit fulfilled no more than the modest expectations U.S. officials had anticipated."

The New York Times, on the other hand, saw SALT II as a "first." The tone of Hedrick Smith's lead was thus more optimistic: "President Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, signed an arms control treaty today that for the first time limits both sides to the same maximum number of long-range bombers and missiles." If the words "first time" connote the historic significance of the treaty, the adjective "same" stresses its essential fairness. The *Los Angeles Times*, however, put the signing in a totally different light. Jack Nelson's lead paragraph observed that, "Hanging heavily over the historic occasion was an issue vexing to both leaders—the U.S. Senate ratification."

When the *Inquirer* says "it was clear" that the arms race would go on, when the *Post* says the atmosphere "suggested" only modest goals, when the *Los Angeles Times* says ratification was "hanging heavily" over the signing, what is being reported is obviously not the event itself but the significance of the event. Ratification didn't literally "hang" in the Hofburg Palace like a banner over the signing; it was put there by Washington Bureau Chief Nelson.

In fact, often implicit in reporters' commitment to getting the story is the responsibility to place individual events, the meaning of which isn't clear, into a framework that gives them meaning. This framework is not dictated by the facts of the story alone, but chosen by the journalist. Smith, for example, could have written that SALT II "for the first time officially sanctions increases by both sides to equal numbers of long-range bombers and missiles." This, too, would have been factual, but quite different from his more optimistic lead

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Summit 1985: Washington Set the Tone

By Daniel C. Hallin

A summit is a media event as much as a forum for diplomatic exchange. So it is not surprising that at Geneva, where the first Reagan-Gorbachev summit was held, the networks devoted considerable attention to the work of Soviet reporters. "Soviet bloc journalists," said ABC's Peter Jennings in an evening news report on November 19, 1985, "like their American counterparts, report on the comings and goings of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev. Like American reporters, they go to briefings. And there the similarities end. . . . It is the Central Committee

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SUMMIT JOURNALISM: A LOOK BACK

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of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . that sets Soviet journalists' policy. . . . Last week, when the Kremlin was angry at the Reagan administration, the Soviet press was angry too."

As another summit may be approaching, it is worthwhile to examine American television coverage of Geneva. For as different as American and Soviet journalists certainly are—only once during the Geneva summit were an American official's words reported on the major Soviet news broadcast, "Vremya,"—their similarities do not end with the fact that both "go to briefings." Both, for example, can suggest to their audiences how their system is better than that of their rival. Both can be highly partisan in their coverage of the other side. Most importantly, both tend to shift political tone with the winds prevailing in their respective capitals. This becomes evident in comparing television coverage of Reagan's first encounter with Gorbachev with that of the five summits under Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter during the period of "detente."

Television's coverage of the Geneva summit was massive by any standard. Reagan arrived in Geneva on Saturday, November 16. Gorbachev arrived two days later, and the summit began the following day. By that time, the networks had been in high gear for over a week. As early as November 4, ABC broadcast the first of a ten-part series of background reports. The other networks soon followed suit. By Monday, November 11, with the Soviets already holding press conferences, the summit began to dominate the network news. The character of this coverage varied in emphasis and tone. But as the coverage intensified, a highly partisan, even nationalistic, tone became evident. A review of the networks' evening news programs aired on Friday, November 15, is illustrative.

On CBS, Bill Moyers filed a solemn commentary from the Berlin Wall. "You can put a summit into perspective from here," said Moyers. "I wanted to walk along the wall again to remind myself what the state can do to people when it possesses the power and will. . . . A system that came to power by conspiracy and intrigue cannot feel secure about itself."

On ABC, in the concluding part of its background series on the Geneva summit, David Brinkley offered up a highly partisan history of summitry. "Perhaps the first summit meeting was the Congress of Vienna in 1814," Brinkley began. "Even then, the Russians demanded control of Poland, and got it." Brinkley then jumped to the Cold War, running through a litany of Soviet misdeeds, attributing every reversal in U.S.-Soviet relations to Soviet actions. Along the way he got a good deal of history wrong. Of Truman's 1945 meeting with Stalin at Potsdam, Brinkley stated: "Truman quietly told Stalin the United States had invented a new, fearful kind of bomb. He did not suspect Stalin already knew it. His spies had already stolen the secrets of the atomic bomb, and delivered them to Russia."

In fact, the Potsdam summit took place the day after the key nuclear test at Alamogordo. Soviet spies had indeed been interested in the Manhattan Project, but

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The Soviet Rubber Fleet Sails the Pacific

By Betsy D. Treitler

In 1951, the second year of the Korean War, the politically charged debate over the size of Chiang Kai-shek's defeated nationalist army broke out in the American press. At issue was the likelihood of Chiang mounting a credible threat to the Communist Chinese, thereby indirectly supporting the American effort in Korea. In reporting on the size of Chiang's forces, however, the press merely recorded wildly conflicting estimates, which ranged from 450,000 to just under a million, without attempting to verify their accuracy. *New Yorker* press critic A.J. Liebling noted with a little disgust and much amazement "the extreme expansive-contractile capability of the nationalist army trapped on Formosa."

If Liebling were writing about military developments in the Pacific today, he might have been similarly bemused by the "expansive-contractile" capability attributed to the Soviet Union's Pacific fleet. In the last two years, as U.S. relations with governments of East Asia and the Pacific have undergone strain, a flurry of press attention has been accorded the USSR's growing Pacific fleet. "The extraordinary growth of the Soviet Navy in the Pacific" was noted in the pages of *The Washington Times* on May 13, 1986, under the headline: SOVIET NAVY'S PACIFIC BUILDUP, and in subsequent articles such as FAR EAST PLOY (September 1, 1986) and SOVIETS SLINK INTO ASIAN TRADE ZONES (May 27, 1986). Other reports have appeared in *The New York Times, The San Diego Union, The Wall Street Journal* and in the *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, which, on April 12, 1987, reported that the U.S. Pacific fleet faces "a Soviet fleet three times its size."

Some of the most inconsistent reporting on the size of the Soviet Pacific fleet appeared in *The New York Times* in various editions throughout 1986 and 1987. In the space of just three weeks, the size of the Soviet fleet more than doubled, according to the "paper of record." Barbara Crossette weighed in with the most modest assessment. "Moscow's naval presence," she reported on August 10, 1986, in the Sunday "Week in Review," "has . . . grown to 410" ships and submarines. Russian shipbuilders must have been busy in the seven days that followed, since, according to a report by John Cushman a week later, the Red fleet in the Pacific now totaled 530 ships and submarines, an average of 17 ships added each day. Cushman was outdone by the *Times*'s Tokyo Bureau Chief, Clyde Haberman, who, in a cover story for the September 7 Sunday *Magazine*, reported that, "Across the Western Pacific, the Russians have amassed 830 ships," a rate of growth that would make U.S. Navy officials envious. Within six months, however, the *Times* reverted to Cushmanite levels when Bernard Trainor, the paper's military correspondent, reported on March 1 that according to "Pentagon intelligence sources" the Soviet Pacific fleet now "consists of about 500 ships, including 130 submarines."

The *Times* was not alone in estimating the size of the Soviets' rubber fleet. *Time* reported in November that it numbered only 166 ships and submarines, a modest estimate considering the competition. *The Washington Times,* meanwhile, reported the size of the fleet at 826 ships and submarines in May 1986, and 840 in August.

Despite the fact that the sources cited for such stories included "Pentagon Intelligence," the Department of Defense, and the U.S. Navy, in no instance do these figures agree with those provided in the Pentagon's most comprehensive account of Russian military capability, *Soviet Military Power.* According to the 1986 edition, the volume in print when the first *Times* stories were written, the Soviet Union had only 175 "principal combatants" and submarines in the Pacific fleet, as compared to *Times* figures ranging from 410 to 830. Using worst case estimates, which include a considerable number of minor combatants and auxiliaries, the Pentagon count rises to 385, still 54 percent lower than the *Times*'s lowest estimate. Even the 1987 edition of *Soviet Military Power,* which reflects subsequent additions to the Soviet fleet, counts only 181 major surface warships and submarines and a total of 392 vessels.

In the space of just three weeks, the size of the Soviet fleet more than doubled, according to The New York Times.

What accounts for the varying estimates of the size of the Soviet Pacific fleet? Analysts agree that the Soviet Union has modernized and expanded its fleet in the Pacific in the last decade. But they differ over the scope and significance of the increase. Many of the low counts, for example, exclude light Soviet ships, such as corvettes and patrol craft. Larger estimates include such ships, as well as some civilian vessels which, in a crisis, might be able to support regular naval forces. Such disagreement over counting methods, however, does not appear to explain why Clyde Haberman's estimate exceeds by 445 ships that of the Pentagon's.

Reporters' unwillingness to make an effort to identify and report the most credible estimates adds to the considerable confusion surrounding discussions of U.S. and Soviet comparative strengths. To the degree that the Navy's shipbuilding budget and naval strategy are based on assessments of Soviet capabilities, an accurate estimate of the Soviet Pacific fleet is crucial. As Liebling wrote about Chiang's army: "Those responsible for getting this country to assume a posture of defense have been hampered by the stories about the army that could be expanded or contracted to fit any headline."

BETSY D. TREITLER is a researcher at the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

London Letter

Covering Labor's Campaign: Defense Issues Bomb

By Edwin Diamond

LABOUR'S POLICY ON ARMS—Headline over a photo of a British army soldier with hands raised in surrender, used as a billboard and newspaper advertisement, British general election campaign. May-June, 1987.

As official U.S. and Soviet policy has glacially proceeded toward possible zero-zero options, debates about moving away from reliance on nuclear deterrence forces toward a less nuclear Europe have heated up. Against this background, the recent efforts of the British Labor Party and its candidate for prime minister, Neil Kinnock, to make England "nuclear free" would seem assured of an attentive hearing in the media coverage of the recently concluded campaign.

Yet Kinnock's anti-nuclear ideas, as well as his candidacy, were thoroughly trashed in much of the British media and in the general elections last spring. First, Kinnock took some heavy hits from the Tory press, which routinely depicted him as a coward, a fool, or worse. Then Kinnock and Labor were finished off on election day by Margaret Thatcher, a stout defender of nuclear-armed Britain, and her Conservative Party. These twin rejections occurred in a manner that appears certain to deter further serious examinations of nuclear deterrence in Britain for a considerable period. Indeed, the aftershocks may lessen the chances of such a debate in the U.S. presidential campaign. A still unengaged American electorate may not yet know who the two major party candidates will be, but there is already good reason to believe it will hear very little about nuclear weapons and deterrence strategies during the campaign—from either the candidates or the media.

The most trenchant lesson that American presidential candidates and American political reporters will take from the Kinnock defeat is that discussions of the idea of nuclear deterrence in the course of a political campaign lead to a double no-win situation. First, in Britain at least, relatively few votes were to be gained by Labor's nuclear-free policy. Labor supporters told exit pollers from the Harris Research Center that nuclear weapons ranked no higher than fifth among the election issues they considered most important when marking their ballots, well behind the so-called "caring issues"—unemployment, the national health services, pension and welfare benefits, and schools and education. Conservative voters, on the other hand, ranked nuclear weapons as their third most important issue, suggesting more people were concerned about voting for Thatcher's nuclear Britain than for Kinnock's nuclear-free country.

Second, and equally important, the level of discussion about nuclear strategy and deterrence fares rather badly in the heat of an election campaign, even one conducted within the eminently reasonable span of four weeks. Unlike their American counterparts, British candidates don't need the eighteen-month campaign grind, in part because the British parties are ideological rather than casual, and they have clearly defined policies that lend themselves to quick, broad-brush news coverage. Press and public alike understand where the candidates stand. Moreover, the parliamentary system means that the parties have real leaders who face each other weekly in live debates in the Commons; these rivals don't have to wait for the League of Women Voters or other groups to arrange candidates meetings: confrontations are routine and opposing political views on most topics, including nuclear deterrence, are well known.

The downside, of course, is that the journalistic brush strokes can quickly become action paintings, distorted and reductive, as any reader of British newspapers knows. Just as British political parties have strong ideological content, so too is there a strong political party press. Almost all newspapers wore their ideological allegiances on their front pages during the election campaign. The fact that this politicized press is largely uninterested in American journalistic ideas of objectivity, as well as overwhelmingly pro-Thatcher—Kinnock took to calling the papers "Thatcher's toadies"—inevitably complicated Labor's ability to present its case for a nuclear-free Britain.

All these policy, party and press elements came together in the third week of the campaign, and in the unlikeliest of formats. On a Sunday morning talk show, Kinnock, in conversation with David Frost, decisively illustrated the difficulties of making nuclear deterrence and its possible alternatives a topic for discussion in an election campaign.

As the *Sunday Times* "Insight" team reconstructed the story, Frost's idea of the interview was to have Kinnock "explain his thinking" on such matters as defense,"rather than submit him to a hard grilling." Kinnock's non-nuclear position was spelled out during his trip to the U.S. last winter and in the Labor Party manifesto [See "The U.S. Press and Neil Kinnock's Non-Nuclear Britain," *Deadline*, January/February 1987]. In brief, Kinnock proposed to: cancel the Trident submarine; decommission Britain's Polaris submarines; close the U.S. submarine base at Holy Loch, Scotland; order out U.S. cruise missiles and tactical nuclear weapons; and prohibit nuclear weapons on F-111 aircraft. Though Kinnock said he would use the money saved to build up Britain's conventional weapons strength (and thereby continue to contribute to the West's defense), and though it was also true that Kinnock was not asking the U.S. to go non-nuclear with him, it was still easy to label his policy "unilateralism"—giving up nuclear weapons without getting anything in kind from the Russians.

Frost asked Kinnock what would happen in a conflict between non-nuclear British forces and a nuclear-armed enemy. Wouldn't British troops be subjected to unfair

battle or defeat? The likelihood that a solitary Britain might find itself at war, one-on-one, with the Soviets is extremely remote. But Kinnock accepted the premise and embroidered the scenario. In his own words: "The alternatives are between the gesture, the threat or the use of nuclear weapons, or surrender." The choice, he continued, was either "exterminating everything you stand for . . . or using the resources you've got to make any occupation totally untenable."

Thus to Frost's speculative Russian invasion, Kinnock conjured up a U.S. nuclear strike to destroy Western Europe in order to save it—in his words, "a terminal act." The implication was that he preferred hypothetical occupation to hypothetical Armageddon.

Only three of the Monday papers—the pro-Tory *Express* and *Telegraph* and the Alliance-leaning *Today*—thought enough of this exchange to put it in their editions. The *Times* and the *Sun*, both owned by Rupert Murdoch and both pro-Thatcher, scrambled to catch up on the story in their final editions after seeing the others' coverage. Monday's *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Mail*, *Star* and *Mirror* contained not a line. A lot of British editors apparently slept late on Sunday morning; it has been known to happen in the U.S., too.

The most alert Kinnock-Frost auditors, it turned out, were in the Conservative Central Office headquarters, where the media-monitoring department's videotape machines recorded all television coverage. As soon as Party Chairman Norman Tebbit saw the transcript, he was said to exclaim: "We've struck gold." The surrender advertisement was ordered up. Thatcher in her speeches began deriding Kinnock for "accepting" the Soviet occupation of Britain and for his reliance on guerrilla bands. She reminded her listeners that in Europe in 1943, a Nazi occupation was indeed "tenable." "You do not rely on hopes for the defense of your country," she said. "What deters attack is nuclear weapons." David Owen of the Alliance was equally scornful: Kinnock, he said, "wants a 'Dad's Army' back." He would make Britain "a toothless, shorn, and neutered lion."

All this was prelude to the Tory press attacks. KINNOCK: THE MAN WITH THE WHITE FLAG, bannered the *Mail*. The *Sun* (which can make Murdoch's *New York Post* look as sedate as *The Christian Science Monitor*) ran a page-one cartoon showing a smiling Soviet soldier with a nuclear missile stepping on a tiny Kinnock, shown holding a sling shot. The banner line read, in a reference to Labor's campaign symbol, WHEN THE RED ROSE TURNS YELLOW.

Four days after the Frost interview, Kinnock repeated his promise that Polaris subs would be recalled upon his election. *The Sunday Times* centered the quote across the top of the first page of its "Election Focus" section, and then added a three-line head, in sixty-four point type: THE 24 WORDS THAT COULD LOSE KINNOCK THE ELECTION. *The Daily Express* defense correspondent, Peter Hitchens, perpetrated his own caricature. Writing in the hyper-realistic tradition of the You-Are-There school, Hitchens began his story, "Far out in the Atlantic, a British submarine waits for orders that her captain and crew hope will never come. For this Friday an alarming signal could come whispering into her control room from a secret low frequency transmitter somewhere in Scotland: the order from Prime Minister Neil Kinnock to return to base and be scrapped."

Despite the mocking of Kinnock's "Dad's Army" policies, as well as the efforts of the Thatcherite press to keep the story aloft, when the polls came out at the end of the week they showed the Conservative ratings were unchanged. The lead of 9 percent was identical to the week before, and Kinnock's personal rating had continued to rise ever so slightly. What's more, in week four and the final days of the campaign, scarcely anything was heard again of the whole matter of defense and deterrence. The candidates had dropped the issue—it wasn't capturing voters. The press went along.

A visitor could not escape the feeling that scenes of the U.S. 1988 elections were being previewed in England.

Why didn't the great defense issue create a stronger response among voters, summoning up as it did images of Britain's Finest Hour in 1940, and, creating as well, a run of attention-grabbing headlines? Some of the reasons have been indicated, or implied, in this narrative: most voters, perhaps six in ten, had made up their minds before the election was called; the views of the vying leaderships were well known and offered no surprises; issues of defense or a non-nuclear Britain aren't seen as personal "caring issues," especially when compared to closer-to-home concerns. Finally, the British press, like its American cousin, is reactive to developments, especially in a political campaign. Once the candidates dropped the defense and deterrence issues, there was little doubt what the papers and television programs would do, given their limited vision of their own role in campaigns.

These last two points need stressing as the American presidential campaign rumbles forward. It is no longer stop-the-press news that people vote their pocketbooks. When Thatcher won her landslide victory in 1983, for example, Tory popularity at the time was widely attributed to the "Falklands factor"—Britain's victory over a poorly-led, ragtag Argentine garrison in the South Atlantic. But a study by a team of political scientists at the University of Essex suggests that the Falklands victory provided only a short-lived upward blip in Tory popularity, and that the most important factor in the reelection was economic—such Thatcher steps as cuts in interest rates and increases in personal tax allowances. These made voters more optimistic about themselves and their families, and about the government in power. The noisy calliope of press coverage and slick candidates' videos are almost beside the point in such circumstances. They are distracting, entertaining, but

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People Returns From Russia Unscathed

By Elisa Spungen Bildner

PEOPLE WEEKLY'S APRIL 6 special issue, devoted entirely to the USSR, generated a bit of controversy and average sales, according to editorial and publishing officials at the magazine.

PEOPLE GOES TO RUSSIA, produced by a team of three editors and two photographers who trekked 25,000 miles across the Soviet Union, applied the *People* formula to everyday life in the USSR. *People*'s pages that week were filled with celebrity biographies and vignettes about obscure but exceptional citizens. But in each of these instances the subject of the article was Soviet, ranging from rock star Stas Namin and his balladeer wife, Ludmila Senchina, to Galina Fedyanina, a seamstress in the Leningrad "Dawn of the First of May" dress factory.

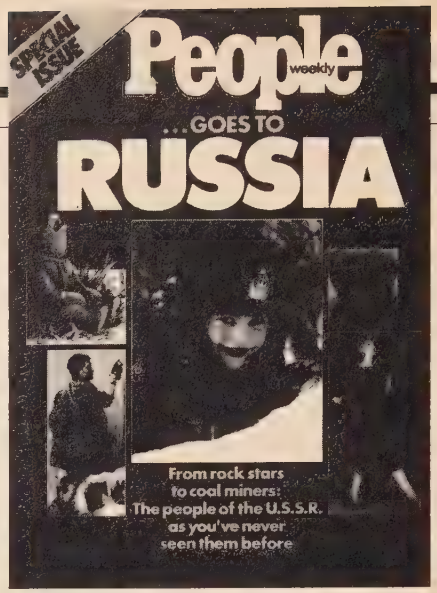
People editors wrote that they deliberately avoided covering ground "already heavily traveled by the Western press. We would eschew international politics," the editors wrote. "And though we were sensitive to their plight, we would not search out refuseniks or dissidents."

Hedrick Smith, author of *The Russians* and a former Moscow correspondent for *The New York Times*, lauds *People* for its "unparalleled efforts" to portray average Russians for a general American audience. Smith says, however, that *People*'s coverage could have been improved if the magazine provided its readers with more background about each of the Soviet personalities.

People's readers also gave the issue mixed but predominantly favorable reviews. Some 400 readers, a large number by *People* standards, voted with their pens, the most letters generated by a story this year, with the exception of an interview with Mark David Chapman, the convicted murderer of John Lennon. Two-thirds of these respondents praised the issue. Of the remaining third, many wrote that they did not care much for *People*'s desire to give Americans a taste of life in the Soviet Union. "If I want to read about Russians, I'll pick up *Newsweek* or tune in Tom Brokaw," read one representative letter in the April 27 "Mail" column. Others said they were bored by the lack of familiar celebrities in the magazine's pages: "I simply can't imagine that life in America could have been that slow last week."

A few regular advertisers, most notably Chrysler Corporation, decided to withdraw from the issue, according to Jim Donoghue, director of marketing and promotion for the magazine. (Chrysler also withdrew from ABC's controversial television series "Amerika.") Donoghue says that most other advertisers were not concerned about appearing in the red-covered issue.

Despite the controversial content, sales for the issue were average, says Donoghue. *PEOPLE* GOES TO RUSSIA sold 1.6 million copies on newsstands, better than the 1.4 million copies of the March 30, 1987, issue, which featured actor Harry Hamlin of "L.A. Law" on the cover, billed as "The Sexiest Man Alive."


SPECIAL ISSUE
People weekly
...GOES TO
RUSSIA
From rock stars to coal miners: The people of the U.S.S.R. as you've never seen them before

Montgomery Brower, one of the two assistant editors who made the trip to the Soviet Union, says that the qualified success of *People*'s untraditional approach to covering the Soviet Union suggests that there is an interest in Soviet affairs that is not being satisfied by U.S. correspondents.

American reporters, Brower says, are frequently reluctant to conduct the government-sanctioned interviews that *People* undertook. Nonetheless, according to Brower, this does not undermine the value of such interviews, which, despite obvious limitations, still provide intriguing material for reporters. "The near obsession of the Western press with economic problems, with dissidents, with problems of Soviet Jewry, has tended to create a picture of the Soviet Union which is out of whack," says Brower. "I'm not an experienced Moscow correspondent, but are Western correspondents ignoring potential stories just because they are sanctioned by the establishment?"

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Defense Issues Bomb

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ultimately unimportant.

More than anything else, what emerged from the British elections is the picture of two Englands, one affluent and in pursuit of the rewards of a market economy, the other jobless and increasingly without hope. As it happens, these two Englands are divided geographically into the Tory South and the Labor North. Search as an American visitor might, it was difficult to find strong interest in defense and deterrence issues among voters and press in either England. Nor could a visitor escape the feeling that scenes of the U.S. 1988 elections were being previewed in England. The suspicion is that first the American political candidates and then the American political journalists are going to walk away from nuclear-policy issues, and once again leave these abstract matters to the policy priesthood.

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before Potsdam, not even American scientists were certain an actual weapon could be produced. Soviet spies notwithstanding, nuclear scientists working on the Manhattan Project fully expected the Soviets would soon develop a bomb of their own.

Of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Brinkley said: " Khrushchev, with the cold eyes of a Russian peasant, decided Kennedy was weak, tried to bully him... and... was fired for his bungling." But Khrushchev was ousted for an ambitious series of reforms that party elites saw as inept and threatening to their own interests. The Cuban Missile Crisis may have contributed to his downfall but was not its main cause.

(There is a certain symmetry here, as the Soviet media also frequently overstate the influence of Soviet-American relations on events in the U.S. Many Soviets, for example, believe Nixon was ousted for supporting a policy of detente. The Soviet magazine *Zhurnalist* once attributed Dan Rather's rise at CBS to the anti-Sovietism in his reporting.)

The difference in tone between the reporting from Geneva and the summit coverage more typical of the detente era can be seen dramatically in a comparison of Brinkley in 1985 with the same reporter thirteen years earlier, when Nixon met Brezhnev in Moscow. In opening remarks of a commentary aired on the "NBC Evening News," on May 26, 1972, Brinkley chided the superpowers for engaging in a wasteful weapons buildup.

"For twenty-five years the United States and the Soviet Union have spent unbelievable amounts of money—mountains of money—for weapons. Both countries have armed themselves against whatever threat existed, and whatever threat the most feverish and self-serving imaginations could invent," he said. "If now, at least, the two countries have agreed not to stop but to start in the direction of stopping, one question might be, 'What took them so long?'"

The indignant Brinkley of 1972 who lays the blame for a nuclear weapons buildup equally on the U.S. and the USSR could not be more different from the Brinkley of 1985, who derides Russian foreign policy. What is consistent in Brinkley's reports, however, is that they both reflect the prevailing political atmosphere of the day.

There were certainly times during summit coverage of the 1970s when reporters would adopt a stance that focused on ideological differences between East and West. But in the political climate of 1972, such reporting was generally in the background. In the 1970s, many summit reports focused on potential areas of agreement between the U.S. and the USSR, or on specific policy disagreements between them. The language in reports during this period was different as well: favorable toward arms control and less combative than the language which characterized much of the networks' reporting on the Soviets in Geneva.

Geneva coverage was not given over entirely to criticism of the Soviet Union. The usefulness of cooperation was often recognized. "Because the men and their systems are so different," Moyers said in a commentary on the evening news broadcast on the first day of the summit, "because they are both superpowers, rules of behavior are all the more important to prevent a collision in the dark." There was some serious reporting of the negotiating positions of both sides. This was more common in the weeks preceding the summit than during the event. Soviet officials themselves appeared often on the network news programs—twenty-seven times between November 15 and November 22—exactly as often as U.S. officials. These appearances, however, were more substantive on the morning news programs than the evening news. On the latter, specific Soviet officials appeared mostly to confirm a particular journalist's negative characterization—"a known Kremlin hardliner," for example—rather than to provide the official with an opportunity to present a point of view.

Reviewing the Evening News

Overall, the networks' evening news coverage of the Geneva summit was not only weighted toward stories emphasizing the deficiencies of the East, but was also peppered with contentious rhetorical flourishes that were rare in the days of detente.

For his part, Dan Rather could not resist reporting Soviet intransigence, even before the summit began. On Friday, November 15, he said: "Twenty-four hours before President Reagan's arrival here, the Russians stepped up their publicity offensive . . . holding fast against any new initiative on 'Star Wars'—or much else."

ABC's Moscow correspondent, Walter Rodgers, did not pass up an opportunity to malign the Russian character in a description of the Soviet response to a letter Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger sent to President Reagan. The letter urged the President to take a hard line on the matter of alleged Soviet violations of arms control treaties. According to *The New York Times*, "The Russians reacted angrily to the Weinberger letter." According to Rodgers, "The Soviet reaction was swift, and it was a combination of propaganda and Russian paranoia."

The level of rhetoric was particularly high at CBS, especially in Rather's copy. CBS also spent more time on the issue of human rights than did its competitors—eleven minutes on the evening news, compared to eight on NBC and two on ABC. The extent of this coverage is significant, because human rights was defined by the networks exclusively as a Soviet problem, particularly the USSR's treatment of dissidents and Jews. (Despite the level of attention accorded the human rights issue, at least as defined by the U.S., no network did the story with much depth. Virtually all reporting was spot news coverage of demonstrations by Soviet dissidents and the propaganda battle at the summit over human rights.

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that emphasized the new limits, not the increased number of weapons permitted.

Like it or not, writing a story is inevitably a form of "spin control" by the journalist. Controlling spin isn't something most journalists admit to doing. If they did, anchors might open newscasts by saying "Good evening. Here's one version of what happened today." It might be startling, but it would serve to acknowledge that different people see the same event differently.

Criticism of the American press often fails to recognize this as well. The press is often blamed for being "biased," but such complaints are often made in bad faith. Disagreement over politics is often presented as a complaint about accuracy. Critics want the press to portray events their way, but instead of saying so, they demand instead that the press "report the facts." When Jessie Helms was mounting a bid to take over CBS and replace Dan Rather with a different anchor, he did so in the name of "fairness" and "accuracy," not as a conservative trying to shape the news his way.

Are journalists and editors biased? Yes, but this is neither an interesting nor damning charge, since it makes no allowance for the need to frame events.

Some events obviously call for "just-the-facts" reporting. In a warehouse fire the important questions are who, what, where, and when. Answering them badly can lead to a correction in the paper the next day. But most political events are not like that, as coverage of SALT II shows. In such events, who, what, where, and

U.S. AND SOVIET SIGN 'GLO

MAJOR ARMS ISSUES LEFT UNRESOLVED

WASHINGTON—President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, today agreed to a worldwide ban on medium- and short-range missiles. The modest accord is the first arms control agreement negotiated by the superpowers since former President Jimmy Carter and Soviet General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev signed the SALT II accord in Vienna in 1979.

If ratified by the U.S. Senate, the agreement will require the Soviets to remove some 553 SS-20 and SS-4 ballistic missile launchers from the European and Asiatic theaters. The United States will withdraw 332 cruise and Pershing II missiles it has deployed over the past four years.

Unlike the SALT I and II accords, which set upper limits on various weapons systems, today's Euromissile agreement requires actual reductions in the nuclear arsenals of both countries. Untouched by the accord, however, are the many long-range land-based strategic missiles possessed by both sides, as well as the thousands of nuclear weapons that can be delivered by bombers and submarines.

Also unaffected by today's accord is President Reagan's plan for the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system, the Strategic Defense Initiative. President Reagan successfully overcame Soviet opposition to SDI in gaining today's Euromissile pact. Whether further progress in limiting nuclear arms is possible without some modification of the President's goal, however, is unclear.

The meeting between the two leaders

FIRST NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION

CEREMONY IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON—President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, today signed a landmark arms control treaty that for the first time requires each nation to make actual reductions in their nuclear arsenals. The agreement provides for a worldwide ban on medium- and short-range nuclear weapons, and is the culmination of six years of negotiations on the subject of Euromissiles.

If the Senate ratifies the treaty, the U.S. will be required to dismantle 332 Tomahawk ground-launched cruise and Pershing II missiles now deployed in Belgium, Italy, the United Kingdom, and West Germany. The Soviet Union will be required to dismantle some 1,435 nuclear warheads on approximately 553 SS-20 and SS-4 ballistic missile launchers deployed in Eastern Europe and Asia.

The agreement will have no effect on strategic weapons or President Reagan's controversial Strategic Defense Initiative, which are the subject of separate arms control negotiations in Geneva. But, unlike earlier arms agreements such as the SALT I and SALT II accords, the new treaty requires the U.S. and the USSR to eliminate entire categories of nuclear weapons. In addition, the new agreement may well pave the way for progress in other long-stalled negotiations now taking place on conventional force reductions and chemical weapons.

The meeting between the two leaders

ARMS ACCORD BOOSTS SOVIET AND U.S. LEADERS

WASHINGTON—President Reagan an Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leade successfully concluded six years o difficult negotiations today by agreeing t a worldwide ban on medium- and shor range nuclear missiles.

Known as the "global double zero agreement, the accord commits the Sovie Union to removing some 553 SS-20 an SS-4 missile launchers from Easter Europe and Asia. For its part, the Unite States will remove 332 Tomahawk ground launched cruise and Pershing II missile based in Belgium, Italy, the United King dom, and West Germany.

The treaty signed today is the first majo accord between the two nations since th signing of the SALT II agreement at Vienna in 1979 and comes at an opportune mo ment for the leaders of both countries.

For the President, it represents a signifi cant foreign policy accomplishment lat in his administration, when his presidency has been damaged by the continuing inves tigation into the Iran-Contra affair an questions about his handling of the Persian Gulf crisis.

For Secretary Gorbachev, who was making his first trip to the United States the successful Washington summit will en hance his authority to deal with serious problems at home, help him to consolidate power within the Soviet Politburo, and give him greater freedom of movement in pursuing "restructuring" and other domes tic reforms.

The meeting between the two leaders

when are just the beginning of the story. The signing of a treaty is an occasion for meaning-making, and that is just what reporters Smith, Schram and Nelson did. Interpretations are not subject to correction the next day. They are only subject to debate.

The debate over interpretations is the one the press ought to have with its critics. The question is not: Is the press biased? But: What are the proper meanings to attach to the news? From what perspective should events be viewed? What assumptions ought to guide the reporting of politics?

Below, *Deadline* reports the signing of an INF agreement as it might appear on the front pages of American newspapers the day after it takes place. These page-one leads, reporting the outcome of a possible Washington summit, are not intended to favor one interpretation over another. They are meant to suggest the diversity of meanings that are likely to be attached to the event, as interpreted by the reporters who will cover it.

What is the press to make of this plurality of meanings? Would the ideal news story reflect all possible interpretations or should journalists instead select the best or most likely among them? The answers to such questions are not clear. But a debate about them is the debate worth having.

JAY ROSEN, a Center Associate, is an assistant professor of journalism and mass communication at New York University. Joshua L. Abrams, Ronnie Dugger, Lee Feinstein, David M. Rubin, and Jacqueline Simon contributed to the page-one leads that follow.

BAL DOUBLE ZERO' ACCORD

PACT CULMINATES MAJOR SHIFT IN REAGAN POLICY

WASHINGTON—President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, oncluded six years of negotiations today y agreeing to a worldwide ban on iedium- and short-range nuclear missiles. he agreement is the first major arms conol treaty the Reagan administration has eached with the Soviets since coming to ffice.

If the Senate ratifies the treaty, the U.S. ill be required to dismantle 332 Tomahawk round-launched cruise and Pershing II issiles now deployed in Belgium, Italy, ie United Kingdom, and West Germany. he Soviet Union will be required to disiantle some 1,435 SS-20 and SS-4 ballistic issiles deployed in Eastern Europe and sia.

Though the agreement will not affect ng-range strategic weapons or the eagan administration's Strategic Defense itiative, it nonetheless marks a signifiant foreign policy shift for Mr. Reagan, om a long-held suspicion of the arms conol process, to a recent willingness to conlude an arms accord with the Soviets beore the end of his second term in office. n negotiating the treaty, the first between ie nations since the signing of the SALT accord in 1979, President Reagan comromised on many of his earlier positions, cluding questions about the ability to erify Soviet compliance with arms conol provisions, and concerns about a preumed Warsaw Pact superiority in conven-onal arms.

The meeting between the two leaders

TREATY RAISES CONCERNS IN NATO NATIONS

WASHINGTON—President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, today agreed to a worldwide ban on medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The agreement, culminating six years of difficult negotiations on Euromissiles, will leave the United States with no medium-range land-based nuclear missiles in Europe for the first time since 1983.

If the Senate ratifies the treaty, the U.S. will be required to dismantle 332 Tomahawk ground-launched cruise and Pershing II missiles now deployed in Belgium, Italy, the United Kingdom, and West Germany, and forgo deploying an additional 240 cruise missiles in Western Europe. For its part, the Soviet Union will be required to dismantle SS-20 and SS-4 ballistic missiles deployed in Eastern Europe and Asia.

Though the agreement will leave the U.S. with over 4,000 shorter-range tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the accord has raised concern among NATO and Western officials that it may fuel calls for the denuclearization of the continent. In addition, NATO officials are now carrying out plans to modernize the existing stockpile of European weapons and fear these projects may be jeopardized by growing public sentiment opposing continued deployment of nuclear weapons on the continent. The agreement has also increased anxieties about NATO's ability to counter a presumed Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional weapons.

The meeting between the two leaders

ACCORD LESSENS TENSION IN EUROPE

WASHINGTON—President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, today agreed to a worldwide ban on medium- and short-range nuclear missiles. The agreement, culminating six years of negotiations, will leave both superpowers with no medium-range land-based nuclear missiles in Europe for the first time since the late 1950s.

Under the treaty, the U.S. will be required to dismantle 332 Tomahawk ground-launched cruise and Pershing II missiles based in Belgium, Italy, the United Kingdom, and West Germany, and to forgo the deployment of an additional 240 cruise missiles. For its part, the Soviet Union will dismantle 1,435 warheads on approximately 553 SS-20 and SS-4 ballistic missile launchers.

Though the treaty has generated some concern among NATO officials that it will leave the West vulnerable to superior conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of medium-range missiles from Europe will be likely to lessen tensions both within NATO and between the Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact.

The withdrawal of medium-range missiles from Europe removes a major source of friction for the NATO governments that have had to carry out an unpopular deployment of American-owned and maintained weapons. For East and West, the treaty would result in the removal of an entire category of weapons that have posed a significant threat to both sides. The SS-20 and the Pershing II are both highly accurate and lethal missiles capable of reaching their targets in five to seven minutes.

The meeting between the two leaders

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Why should television's coverage of Geneva have had this particularly partisan flavor? Part of the reason may simply be that there was little substance to the Geneva summit. The lack of hard news was compounded by the fact that the two sides agreed on the first day to impose a news blackout on the content of the talks. If serious negotiations had been under way, with substantive information available, the networks might have been too busy with news to spend time preparing contentious reports. But there have been insubstantial summits before without the rhetoric that prevailed at Geneva.

The New PR

The unusual public relations context of Geneva may suggest a more important reason for the partisan coverage. "Remember that . . . a rather sophisticated team of people came in the Monday before the principals arrived," says former network correspondent Marvin Kalb of the Soviet Union's advance public relations team. "Neither the West nor the U.S. had an advance party," says Kalb, who covered the Geneva meeting for NBC and the summits of the '60s and '70s for CBS. "For one solid week it was a nonstop press conference by the Russians, doing things they had never done before." In the 1970s, he adds, "the spin was provided almost entirely by Kissinger."

The Soviets did make an extraordinary effort at Geneva to use Western public relations techniques. The result was the first summit at which a genuinely two-sided battle for public opinion was carried out. Did television react defensively? Kalb maintains it did not, though "there may have been individual journalists who felt, 'you're not taking me to the cleaners.'" Certainly there were many reporters, including Kalb, who took the new Soviet public relations strategy in stride.

Overall, network coverage of what Rather called the "new, improved, here-there-and-everywhere-and-always-available Soviet public relations machine" was so extensive that the evening news programs devoted nearly as much time to it, thirty minutes, as to the principal arms control items on the summit agenda, thirty-eight minutes. Coverage of Soviet PR was so often combative that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that many reporters and producers feared television would be manipulated, or at least accused of being manipulated, by deft Soviet officials. In fact, CBS concluded two of its evening news broadcasts lamenting that Gorbachev seemed to have won the public relations battle that day, and Bill Moyers delivered a ferocious attack on Jesse Jackson for allegedly handing the Soviet leader one of those victories.

This may help explain why it was particularly television which adopted a partisan tone during Geneva—for that tone was less evident in newspaper coverage. Television generates much stronger political emotions than print. It is therefore much more susceptible to the nationalism bug. No one cares, after all, if *The New York Times* publishes an op-ed piece by a Soviet official. But when Patrick Buchanan, the former White House director of communications, blasted ABC a few months after Geneva for letting Soviet commentator Vladimir Posner respond at length to a Reagan speech on the U.S. defense budget, the network felt vulnerable enough to apologize.

Indeed, there was just a grain of truth to the concern that American television might be manipulated by Soviet officials. The dynamic new Soviet leader was a better story than Reagan, who was beginning his second term at the time of the summit. Accordingly, Gorbachev appeared more often on the evening news broadcasts (thirty appearances) than Reagan (twenty appearances). By contrast, Italian television news accorded its NATO ally, Reagan, about 25 percent more attention than Gorbachev. As the Italian example suggests, American fears of a Soviet public relations victory were excessive. Most of the Western media handled the Soviets' aggressiveness in public relations with considerably more composure than American television, neither being taken in by it, nor goaded into a reactive partisanship.

Of course, skepticism of government-supplied information is always appropriate. But at Geneva such skepticism rarely resulted in penetrating reporting. There was little journalistic value in slanted histories of the kind provided by David Brinkley, or in Dan Rather's flippant derision, or in the overly simple contrast Peter Jennings drew between Soviet and American journalists. Instead of presenting probing analyses, reporters chose to trade in stereotypes.

In 1972, Nixon went to Moscow promising a "generation of peace." That theme set the tone for televsion of the time. Reagan went to Geneva, a year after a landslide reelection, still wary of dealing with the country he had for years called the "evil empire." His influence on the news coverage is also clear.

In the coming months, with political momentum building for an agreement on medium-range missiles, it is likely that television news coverage of the next summit will be less ideological than it was for the Geneva summit. Indeed, a shift in this direction could already be seen in coverage of the Reykjavik summit, where policy issues related to arms control clearly dominated the reporting. Still, the coverage to be expected at the next summit will be the product of the same variable that led to the contentious reporting of the Geneva summit: the political winds of the time. The difference now is that the President seems to desire an agreement with the Soviets.

Until American journalism becomes more independent, coverage of U.S.-Soviet relations will continue to be distorted by the political mood prevailing in Washington.

Daniel C. Hallin, a Center Associate, is associate professor of communications at the University of California at San Diego. He is the author of The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam. *Research for this article was funded by the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of California.*

Letters

Revising the Revision

To the Editor:

Gar Alperovitz's revised edition of *Atomic Diplomacy*, along with other information cited in Greg Mitchell's article ["Just Another Atomic Anniversary," *Deadline*, July/August 1987] on why Truman had atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, should be required reading for journalists and others who undertake to reassess the atomic bombings during the anniversary retrospectives.

However, Mitchell writes in his article that Truman's July 1945 diary entry remarking that the Japanese would be finished when Stalin entered the war against them on August 15 "partially supports" the view that Truman was motivated, in ordering the atomic bombings of early August, to end the war before the Russians entered it. The diary entry, in my judgment, supports the revisionist interpretation powerfully, not partially, and the difference between those two adverbs is crucial to Americans' acceptance of the fact that the atomic bombings should grievously burden our consciences, just as other mass killings of innocents burden the consciences of the people of certain other nations.

I must advance an even more serious caveat. If Truman used the atomic bombs to head off the Soviets and to make them "more manageable in the postwar period," Mitchell concludes in his article, "it would mean that use of the bomb in August 1945 was *desirable* but not *necessary*. . . ." Not at all. It would mean that Truman was motivated by a purpose which, when considered by itself, was desirable. If we may now reasonably believe, as I believe we may, that Truman used the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki to keep Stalin out of the Japanese theater and to make the Soviets more manageable in the postwar world, we can finally cut through the exculpatory postwar obfuscations to the real question: Was the United States justified ethically in deliberately killing 200,000 civilians to achieve a geopolitical objective which, when considered in a vacuum, was desirable? More starkly: Is it desirable, in order to achieve a geopolitical objective, to commit mass murder? The question answers itself and that is why the facts which give rise to it have been hidden for so long.

Ronnie Dugger
New York City

Rachlin's Visa

To the Editor:

Your publication makes continued reference to the model coverage of the Soviet Union provided by Samuel Rachlin ["Samuel Rachlin's Russia: Reporting from the Bottom Up," *Deadline*, July/August 1987]. I think we would all agree that Mr. Rachlin is one of the best television journalists to have covered the Soviet Union. That was one of the reasons why we asked him to spend a year with us here at the Russian Research Center.

However, when praising Samuel Rachlin's work, it seems important to point out that despite what we all agree is very insightful and fair coverage, Samuel Rachlin has been denied a visa several times as he has sought to reenter the Soviet Union to do stories. It seems to me that is an essential detail to note because it suggests that anyone, even the best reporter, works under conditions which we sometimes tend to forget; that is, that even with *glasnost* there is no guarantee that the perceptive reporter will have continuing access to the Soviet Union. That knowledge undoubtedly affects the coverage that others provide.

Marshall I. Goldman
Associate Director
Russian Research Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ann Marie Cunningham replies: All reporters face the problem of reentry after they have reported on the Soviet Union. Since leaving the USSR, Samuel Rachlin has been denied a visa twice and has returned twice, once as a journalist.

Occasional Paper

The Cuban Missile Crisis 25 Years After

"The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Press," by William LeoGrande, the third in a series of Occasional Papers, is now available from the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

Twenty-five years ago, on October 22, 1962, President John Kennedy announced that the United States had discovered Soviet missiles in Cuba and was ordering a naval blockade to prevent further weapons from reaching the island. This paper traces the Kennedy administration's controversial handling of the press, from the period before the President publicly acknowledged the discovery of the missiles to the months following the resolution of the crisis.

LeoGrande pays particular attention to the stringent secrecy imposed by the administration in a successful effort "to prevent the story from breaking before the administration wanted it broken." The author recounts how the publishers of three major dailies agreed to kill stories after receiving personal telephone calls from President Kennedy, who said premature release of information would jeopardize national security.

The author also analyzes how journalists responded to Kennedy's efforts to regulate the news media at this time of national crisis. He argues that few journalists challenged the official U.S. position in their reports. "As soon as the press discovered the existence of the missiles," LeoGrande concludes, "it abandoned its role as a forum for differing opinions on Cuba and began acting at the behest of the administration."

LeoGrande is a staff member of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee and a professor of political science at American University. He is co-editor of *Confronting Revolution: U.S. Policy in Central America*. The fifty-page paper is available from the Center for $5.

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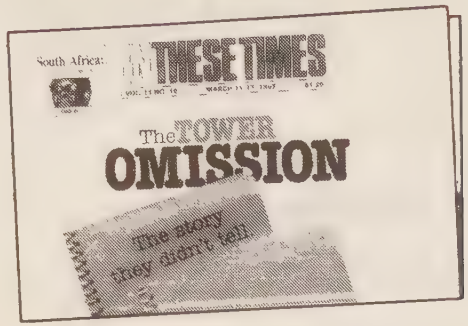

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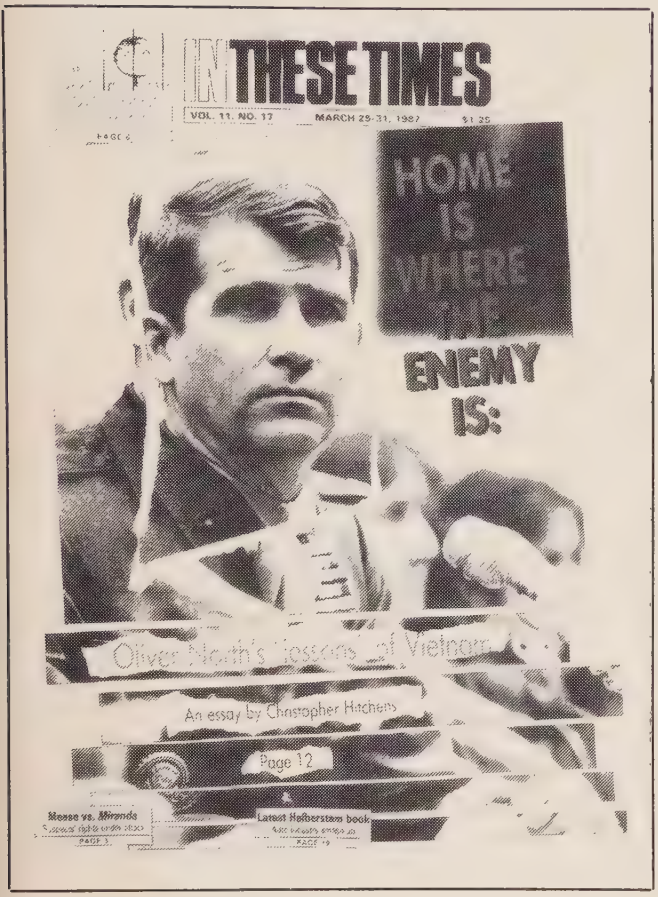

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THE 5% SOLUTION

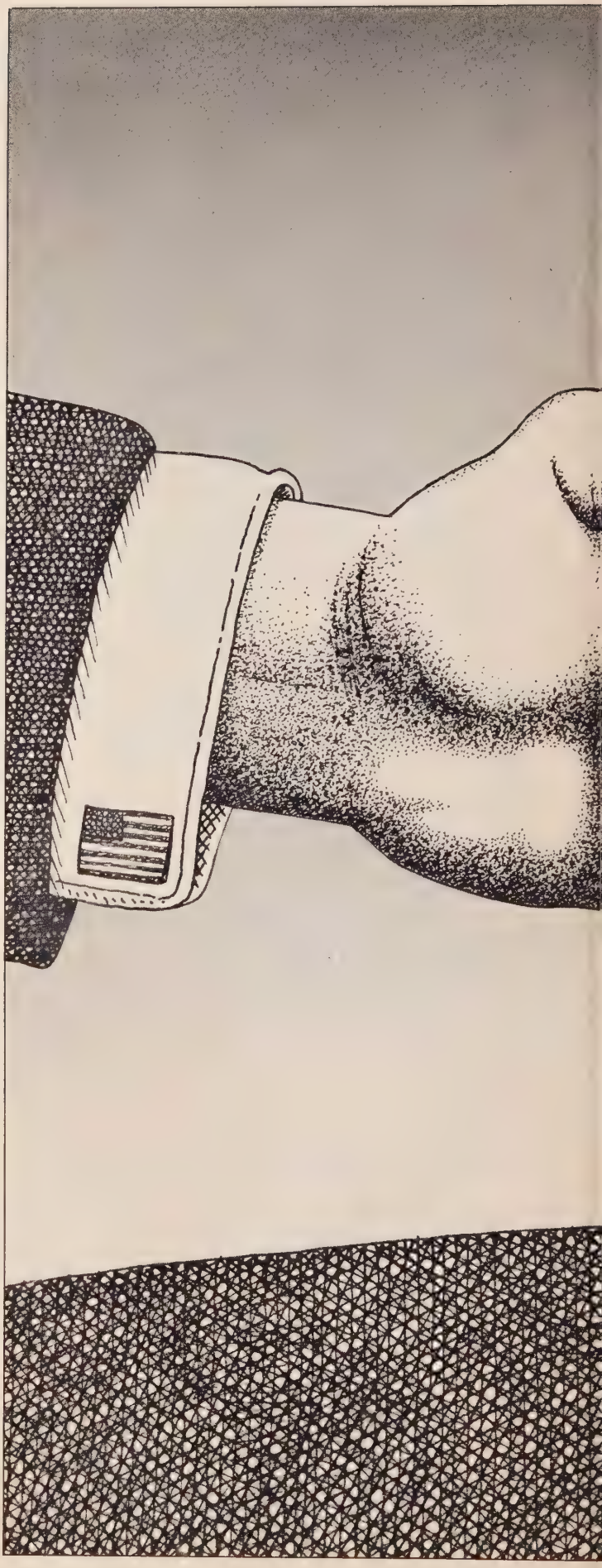
An INF agreement between the United States and the Soviets would reduce the superpowers' nuclear arsenals by 5 percent. Does a little arms control go a long way, or the wrong way?

BY ROBERT SCHAEFFER

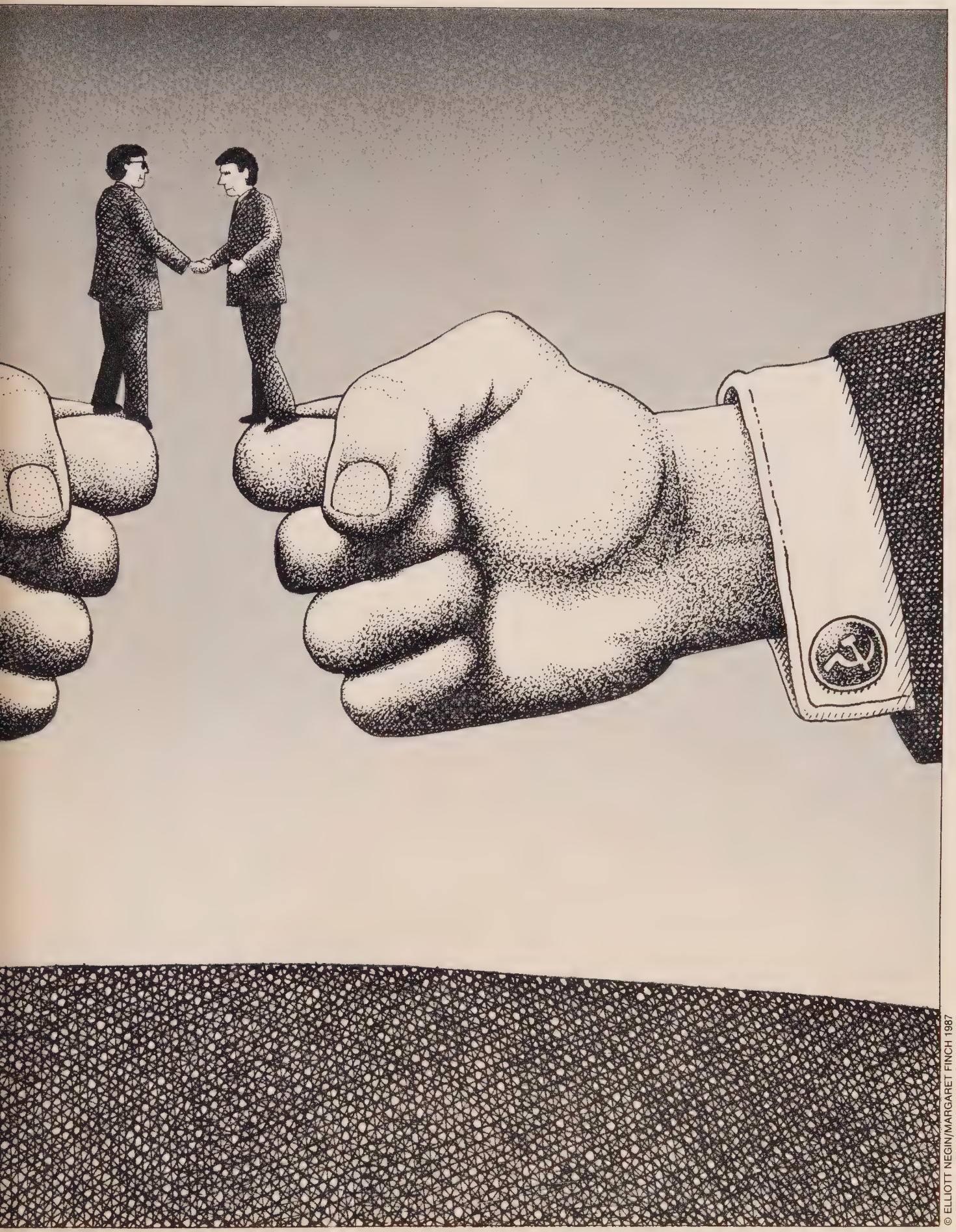
After eight years of unproductive negotiations over intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in Europe, the Reagan administration will probably conclude an arms control agreement this year that will remove U.S. and Soviet medium and shorter-range missiles from the continent. The banning of these front-line weapons has been a major objective of the European and U.S. peace movements since 1979, the year that NATO decided to deploy its missiles and at the same time negotiate for their removal.

The proposed INF treaty could also establish important arms control and verification precedents. But because a treaty would control or eliminate only a fraction of the total superpower arsenal (measured in warheads), and because it might be used to rationalize the development and deployment of new weapons, which would be used to "fill in the gaps" left by an "imperfect" treaty, the accord could also become a minor footnote in arms control history.

For the most part, peace movement activists have greeted the prospect of an arms control agreement—the first and probably only arms control accord the Reagan administration will make during its tenure—with some enthusiasm. After all, an INF accord would rid Europe of much-detested superpower missiles. Beyond



Robert Schaeffer is the senior editor of Nuclear Times.



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that, activists have adopted a rather passive, wait-and-see approach to the proposals now being discussed in Geneva and have moved on to other issues: a comprehensive test ban, SALT II compliance, upholding the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and limiting Star Wars development.

Such a response, however, may cede an important accomplishment—removal of the missiles—to an administration that has made little effort to achieve it and allow congressional and Pentagon critics of arms control to undermine the accord by developing and deploying weapons not covered by the treaty.

Of course the long-term importance of an INF treaty will depend on what U.S. and Soviet negotiators hammer out at the Geneva talks, which have been conducted in earnest only since March. Although many substantive differences remain, the main features of an eventual treaty have emerged.

The INF Treaty Proposals

The centerpiece of the treaty now under discussion is the plan to remove a whole class of intermediate-range missiles from Europe. The removal and elimination of these expensive bargaining chips (the United States and NATO decided to deploy these missiles so that they could simultaneously bargain for the removal of U.S. and Soviet missiles) would reduce the size of superpower arsenals by approximately 5 percent. Although the number of weapons controlled would be relatively small, it would mark the first time that the superpowers agreed to reduce, rather than limit, weapons in their stockpiles.

The 5 percent cut would not, however, be equally shared. In the current plan, the Soviet Union would dismantle 1,320 warheads on 500 multiple-warhead SS-20 and single-warhead SS-4 missiles, and the United States would eliminate 316 weapons on single-warhead cruise and Pershing II missiles. Even President Reagan, who generally believes that arms control does not enhance U.S. security, could not afford to pass up an agreement on these advantageous terms: the Soviet Union will be destroying four warheads for every one dismantled by the United States.

The Soviets have also sought to eliminate shorter-range missiles in Europe, which would result in the removal of 150 Soviet missiles and 72 antiquated U.S. Pershing IA missiles.

In some respects, the proposed treaty is a modest arms control agreement. Matthew Bunn, a senior research analyst at the Arms Control Association (ACA), says, "In a security sense [an INF treaty] is less important than the ABM or Nonproliferation treaties." Although limited, an INF treaty would also set some important arms control precedents: "It would require both sides to dismantle weapons," says Bunn. "By actually removing weapons it could set a precedent for deep cuts in strategic weapons. And it would set a precedent in the area of verification, since it would provide for some types of on-site verification. The Soviets have agreed in principle, though not in detail, to our proposals on this issue."

The Reagan administration hopes that an INF treaty will also set another precedent: that of disproportionate reductions. One U.S. government official, who declined to be identified, told *Nuclear Times* that an "INF is a big deal because it is the first time that the Soviets have agreed to unequal reductions to get equal results."

But it is not clear that the Soviets will extend this "precedent" to other arms control negotiations, particularly those concerning strategic weapons. After all, both superpowers can "afford" to give up intermediate-range missiles in Europe because they can direct other long-range weapons to places previously targeted by intermediate-range missiles. As Eugene Rostow, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has written, "So far as INF is concerned, the issue is more political than military. From the point of view [of our] security, there is no INF problem. Soviet intercontinental weapons can be fired at targets in Western Europe, Japan or the Middle East as well as in the United States." And vice versa.

It will be more difficult for either side to agree to disproportionate reductions of weapons for which there is no substitute.

If the Reagan administration signs an agreement, the treaty may also set some domestic, political precedents. SANE/FREEZE lobbyist Mark Harrison says that an INF treaty "would take away the right-wing argument that you can't negotiate with the Soviet Union. They won't be able to say that arms control is a bad thing."

In late July, a major stumbling block in the negotiations was removed when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced that he is willing to eliminate the 100 medium-range missiles that each side agreed to retain outside Europe. The original agreement, made at the Reykjavik summit late last fall, would have permitted the Soviets to keep 100 missiles in Soviet Asia and the United States to deploy the same number in the United States. Most experts said that the United States would deploy these missiles in Alaska, where they could be within range of targets in Siberia.

Gorbachev's unilateral move still leaves, at this writing, the 72 aging U.S.-West German Pershings as a serious hurdle to an agreement. The Pentagon has said it would like to convert intermediate-range Pershing II missiles into the short-range Pershing IAs to compensate for missiles eliminated by an INF agreement.

Filling in the Gaps

The prospect of retooling Pershing missiles or moving land-based cruise missiles to ships in the Baltic and Atlantic, a scheme advanced by some Pentagon planners, illustrates one of the problems with arms control in general and an INF treaty in particular. Because arms control treaties are partial, not comprehensive, they do not prohibit the development and deployment of new or different weapons to replace the weapons controlled by treaty. Partial arms control agreements are like attempts to strain spaghetti with a tennis racket. A lot of noodles slip through.

Already, congressional representatives, Pentagon officials, and U.S. allies in NATO and Europe have advanced new weapons proposal to "fill in the gaps" left by an INF treaty.

Congressional representatives such as Sen. Dan Quayle (R-Ind.) have said that if "intermediate-range missiles are banned, European defensive systems against aircraft and short-range missiles should be developed," and there is considerable congressional clamor for improved conventional forces.

The Pentagon has said it would need to improve U.S. short-range or tactical "battlefield" nuclear weapons to compensate for missiles eliminated by an INF treaty.

NATO representatives, with U.S. participation, have drawn up a long shopping list for post-INF defense: a new short-range battlefield nuclear missile, a free-fall nuclear bomb and additional F-111 fighter-bomber squadrons to deliver them, an air-launched missile, sea-launched cruise missiles and improved conventional forces. The French, who are allied with the United States but are not in NATO, have indicated that they may need to expand their independent nuclear forces to fill the vacuum left by the removal of U.S. weapons and they have discussed with the Germans the development of Franco-German military units.

The development and deployment of some or all of these nuclear and conventional forces, not to mention the possible development of strategic and space-based weapons, would erode, compromise and deflate the value of an INF agreement. A modest treaty could quickly become a meaningless one.

Peace Movement Response

Although the removal of intermediate-range missiles from Europe has long been a goal of the U.S. peace movement, the quickening pace of INF negotiations since the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Reykjavik last fall has provoked only a limited response from movement organizations, which have busied themselves with reorganization issues (such as the SANE/FREEZE merger) and work on a comprehensive test ban, SALT II compliance and the ABM Treaty (with an emphasis on restraining the Star Wars program).

One peace movement initiative has emerged as a possible response to an INF accord.

As David Lewis reported in the last issue of *Nuclear Times* ["Strange Bedfellows," July/August 1987], representatives of some of the major peace and disarmament groups—SANE/FREEZE, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, American Friends Service Committee—met on May 19 with officials from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the White House Office of Public Liaison. After an unproductive discussion on Star Wars, PSR Executive Director Jane Wales asked Max Green and Margaret Graham, from the Office of Public Liaison and ACDA respectively, what the Reagan administration was doing to prepare the Senate for an INF treaty. Wales recalls telling Green and Graham that "the administration will soon be in the position of pushing for Senate ratification of an INF treaty and will face an opposition that your boss helped to create."

Because Wales believes that "the political environment in the Senate is a product of Ronald Reagan's campaign against arms control," she thinks that "the INF treaty will be very difficult to ratify." As a consequence, Wales told Green and Graham, "You will need the support of people [the peace movement] who you have spent the last seven years insulting."

SANE/FREEZE lobbyist Mark Harrison, who also attended the meeting, said that Wales's suggestion that the peace movement and the Reagan administration work together on behalf of an INF treaty "hit them like a ton of bricks. It dawned on them that they would need our help, which had never occurred to them."

Fay Kelle, legislative field director and lobbyist for WAND, said she thought the meeting was significant. "Here were representatives of the peace movement and representatives of the Reagan administration meeting for the first time," she said, "We were really feeling our oats." Kelle then indicated her support for Wales's initiative. "We share common ground on this issue and we should work together on this," she told meeting participants.

After the meeting Wales observed, "Given the fact [that they will have trouble obtaining Senate approval of an INF treaty], it's time to sit down with them and talk about our shared interest."

But this initiative probably will not meet with much enthusiasm from grassroots activists. Elizabeth Fairchild, former Great Peace March media director and organizer of the White House meetings, said, "I cannot imagine peace movement activists marching in front of the White House with pro-INF placards."

Nor has this overture been met with much enthusiasm from administration officials. White House Public Liaison Associate Director Max Green told *Nuclear Times*, "I don't know that there's going to be any accommodation between the Reagan administration and the peace movement. That's a decision that has yet to be made, or even seriously considered."

Another U.S. government official was even more adamant: "I don't see how anyone could be prepared to discuss [Reagan administration and peace movement collaboration] at this point. Anyone who thinks along these lines is way ahead of the curve."

The reason that the Reagan administration would be reluctant to cooperate with the peace movement on INF is not hard to fathom. Besides its disdain for movement objectives, the Reagan administration probably will not *need* movement assistance to obtain Senate ratification.

Contrary to Wales's assessment of the situation, most observers think Senate ratification would be easy to obtain. "I think an INF treaty will get through the Senate quite easily," said John Isaacs, legislative director at the Council for a Livable World.

And Doug Waller, aide to Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) said, "I do not see the Senate blocking [an INF treaty]. There's been no opposition from the right because no one on the right will accuse Reagan of being soft on arms control."

The major problem facing the Reagan administration is not Senate approval, but getting a treaty signed and delivered to the Senate before the 1988 presidential campaign gets underway. Len Ackland, editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, observed, "We are only a year and-a-half away from a new president, and the negotiations have not gone very far. At this stage, negotiations are a lengthy and difficult process. Because the Reagan administration is not very practiced at arms control negotiations, there is some question as to how long they will take to reach an agreement."

In recent weeks the administration's negotiating efforts have been hampered by internal bickering between the Departments of State and Defense, and both U.S. and Soviet negotiators have accused the other of stalling or reneging on agreed-upon positions.

If the Reagan administration manages to sign and present a treaty to the Senate, which will likely be ratified, it will not want to share this achievement with the peace movement. When asked what role the peace movement played in efforts to obtain superpower agreement on removing missiles from Europe, one U.S. government official told *Nuclear Times,* "I don't know if they have made a contribution. That question will be debated. I think the peace movement has done nothing but aggravate things. The peace movement has been known to go for an arms control agreement at any price. It should ask itself, 'Would our demands have produced the results the Reagan administration got from the Soviets?' In the final analysis, wasn't the president right? After [the Reagan administration] gets an INF treaty, everyone will go around slapping themselves on the back and claim paternity of it. But I ask you, 'How many people can claim paternity?'"

One senate aide disputed this assertion: "The Reagan administration will say that its tough stand, its intransigence, paid off. But this isn't the case. The peace movement deserves a lot of credit for an INF treaty, absolutely. Reagan's original INF proposal was presented to the Soviets to placate the U.S. and European peace movements." The aide went on to explain that if the peace movement had not held Reagan's feet to the fire, and new Soviet leadership eager to pursue arms control had not come to power, the Reagan administration would have had no arms control agreement to show for its eight years in office.

Pacifism or Passivism?

At present, most peace movement activists are uncertain whether to view an INF as a positive development or a negative one. Len Ackland summed up the views of most people interviewed for this article by saying, "If the Reagan administration uses an INF treaty as a public relations gambit, a sop to public opinion, then it will be a bad thing. If it is a first step towards other talks and further reductions, then it will be a good thing."

But if the peace movement hedges its bets and waits to see how an INF agreement will be used by others, then the Reagan adminis-

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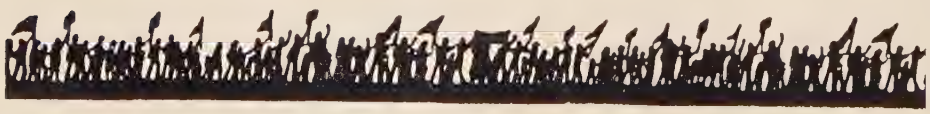

tration will use it as an end in itself and arms-race supporters will use its shortcomings to rationalize the development and deployment of new weapons. A wait-and-see attitude will simply fulfill the prophesy, widely held by many peace movement activists, that arms control is a useless enterprise. Pam Solo, author of a soon-to-be-published book on the freeze campaign, argued, "It would be an enormous mistake for the peace movement to be silent on INF. Silence would damage its credibility and reduce our ability to influence policy over the long run."

And there is another danger. Whether it slows or speeds the arms race, an INF treaty could have a profound impact on public opinion and the peace movement. Paul Boyer, a history professor at the University of Wisconsin and author of *By the Bomb's Early Light*, warned, "I think the general public will view an INF accord with enormous relief. An arms control treaty could assuage public opinion and take the wind out of the sails of the peace movement."

Boyer noted that the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty—and to a lesser extent the 1972 SALT I Treaty—had a dramatic impact on the peace movement: "Before these treaties there was enormous public concern about testing and nuclear war, but afterwards there was an immediate decline in public concern about these issues. Much the same thing may happen in the wake of an INF treaty."

Boyer is not alone in this view. Solo and Bunn of ACA both think an INF treaty may have a "take-the-wind-out-of-the-sails effect" on the peace movement. "Paradoxically," said Bunn, "the peace movement does best when it is doing worst."

To ensure that an INF agreement does not lull the peace movement to sleep, Solo argues that the movement should "be tough-minded and vigorously support a treaty, work to expose the uses, abuses, and misuses of arms control for political purposes, and declare that administration accommodation [to arms control] is a movement victory."

SANE/FREEZE evidently agrees. In a recently issued INF study paper, SANE/FREEZE argues that "we must fight against efforts to 'fill in the gaps' left by removal of INF weapons—by converting [intermediate-range] Pershing IIs into [shorter-range] Pershing IAs, or by moving land-based cruise missiles onto submarines. We must also argue against increasing the number of conventional forces to offset the treaty cuts. These acts could nullify the significance of the treaty and speed up, not slow down, the arms race." □

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FORGING PEACE

PACCA APPLIES ALTERNATIVE SECURITY CONCEPTS TO REGIONAL CONFLICT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Iran-contra scandal has not only brought the first real challenge to Ronald Reagan's "teflon" presidency, it has also exposed what some of his opponents see as a fatal flaw in the Reagan policy on Central America.

"It is a foreign policy that has espoused democracy," says Robert Stark, of Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA). "But it was run in an undemocratic manner—by a small group of people with very little accountability to a public that had no access to the [making of] the policy."

Irangate would certainly have been avoided had the president heeded public opinion. Before this summer's Iran-contra hearings, a consistent 60 to 70 percent of Americans, according to the polls, have opposed the administration's war on Nicaragua. PACCA—a group of scholars and activists opposed to U.S. policy in Central America—believes that, if mobilized, that opposition could change the administration's militaristic course.

PACCA's goal is to democratize the foreign policy process by taking it out of the hands of an elite few. To that end, PACCA has produced research and policy recommendations to arm citizens and grassroots organizations trying to influence U.S. policy in Central America.

Forging Peace: The Challenge of Central America (Basil Blackwell, 1987, $7.95) is PACCA's latest contribution. It recounts the failures of Reagan's course in Central America and describes the economic costs to Americans at home. It proposes an alternative—in arguments accessible to students, union members, church people and others—based on a negotiated peace, democracy, and development.

PACCA's approach echoes the "alternative security" thinking that has grown out of the disarmament movement. Just as writers such as Jerry Sanders of the World Policy Institute argue that the United States can no longer rely for its security on military superiority over the Soviets, PACCA suggests that U.S. security concerns in Central America can no longer be met through its traditional reliance on strong-arm foreign policy.

In a hemisphere that is increasingly interdependent, "there is no such thing as unilateral security," says Stanford University professor Richard Fagen, author of *Forging Peace* and a founding member of PACCA. "The Nicaraguans have to feel secure, the Mexicans have to feel secure. And there has to be enough stability in the region for the United States to feel secure."

Central America today is plagued by war and deepening poverty—clear evidence, PACCA analysts say, that the Reagan policy has been a failure. But the roots of U.S. policy go back farther. Throughout this century, U.S. policy in Central America has relied on the use of military force to ensure that governments of the region remain friendly to the United States. This policy has meant repeated interventions, including two full-scale occupations by the Marines in Nicaragua in the 1920s and 1930s, and the CIA-inspired overthrow in 1954 of a democratically elected government in Guatemala.

Such policies have inspired anti-American sentiment abroad and moral uneasiness at home. They have also cost American taxpayers billions of dollars. In the Reagan years alone, PACCA's analysts estimate that more than $9 billion has been spent on direct military aid and on maintaining a U.S. military presence in the region.

Far from achieving stability and security in the region, PACCA argues, U.S. policy has exacerbated the war-wreaked devastation of Central America's economies and societies. While the United States is not solely responsible for the regional war, its policies have meant increasing militarization of the region.

In El Salvador, U.S. commitment to a military defeat of the leftist insurgency has prevented serious government-rebel talks, prolonging a war that has ruined the country's economy. In Honduras, where official policy has been to strengthen civilian rule, U.S. insistence that the Hondurans play host to thousands of anti-Sandinista rebels "has led to a greater degree of militarization of that society than at any other time in history," says Fagen.

PACCA's *Forging Peace* presents an alternative that appeals to common sense, providing useful arguments for the grassroots activists who are one of its main targets. PACCA would end the wars, divert the billions of dollars to development, and promote democratic reforms that emphasize popular participation in the making and carrying-out of local policy.

These recommendations are not particu-

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—Albert Einstein

"Science has made unrestricted national sovereignty incompatible with human survival. The only possibilities are now world government or death."
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larly original. But the order in which PACCA recommends them is crucial: first the war has to stop, through a negotiated settlement, before any of the other steps can hope to succeed.

PACCA's reasoning "turns the Kissinger formula around," says Stark, referring to the 1984 Reagan-commissioned Kissinger report, which recommended that the United States step up military aid to the region. "There is no security without peace and development."

According to PACCA, the groundwork for breaking the cycle of war, economic decline, instability and more war, has already been laid. Since 1982, the Contadora Group—Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela—has been advocating a negotiated solution to Central America's conflicts. Its efforts to come up with a peace treaty acceptable to the five Central American nations have been consistently thwarted, primarily by U.S. opposition. But Contadora has yet to be put permanently to rest, and PACCA believes it still holds hope.

"The Contadora idea," as Fagen calls it, is a notion common to alternative security thinking. The Contadora countries believe it is in their own interests—as hemispheric neighbors—to promote peace in Central America. Likewise, their peace proposals would guarantee security to each party to the regional conflict.

The key to mutual security, and to breaking the cycle of war, is a negotiated peace based on mutual respect of national sovereignty and recognition of the need for internal reconciliation. Contadora—and a more recent initiative promoted by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias—would require an immediate cease-fire throughout the region, a cut-off of all aid by foreign powers to rebel groups, and the withdrawal of foreign military advisers.

"The key aspect is reciprocity on all parts," says Fagen. "It doesn't say 'no United States [military] advisers.' It doesn't say 'no Cuban advisers.' It says 'no foreign advisers.'"

While that idea may not seem particularly radical, it is the one point U.S. officials have been most unwilling to accept.

"The United States has always felt that Central America is an area of special prerogatives," says Fagen. "Reciprocity is anathema to the Reagan administration. It means the United States has to get out."

By committing itself to maintaining hegemony in the region at all costs, the United States has failed to meet its own security concerns and has subverted the peace efforts of others. It has also, PACCA argues, diverted U.S. attention and resources from other more serious social and economic problems in the hemisphere. "We're not paying attention to Latin American debt," says Fagen, "we're not paying attention to the question of democracy. We're ignoring countries that are far more important economically, politically, even socially than the five little republics of Central America."

This kind of single-minded dedication-to-cause is what forced Reagan officials to appear before congressional hearings this summer. It is a single-mindedness that PACCA members concede is hard to counter.

The Iran-contra scandal has certainly damaged the credibility of the Reagan policy. But it appears to fall far short of dealing it a fatal blow. The issue of contra aid, which comes before Congress again in September, will provide a crucial post-Irangate test of the Reagan administration's ability to proceed on its chosen course. PACCA predicts a close vote.

To influence that vote, groups such as the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, Citizen Action and and Central American solidarity groups are using PACCA arguments and targetting primarily congressional Democrats. Their efforts will include a bus-and-metro poster campaign and a September 15 national phone-in to express opposition to contra aid.

"The Democrats must feel that the 60 percent [opposition to Reagan policy] is real, and that it affects their support," says Stark. "It will take a lot of work at the grassroots level."

PACCA believes there is room for influencing congressional Democrats because the party has failed to come up with a cogent Central America policy of its own. PACCA hopes its policy recommendations, with their emphasis on legitimate national security interests and concrete proposals for meeting them, will provide the Democrats with positions that are "pro-active" rather than merely "reactive," and that do not "leave them open to charges of being soft on communism," says Stark.

PACCA and its activist allies also hope to influence the Central America debate in the emerging presidential campaign. In the 1984 race, a PACCA report, Changing Course: Blueprint for Peace in Central America and the Caribbean, was adopted by Jesse Jackson in the foreign policy platform of the Rainbow Coalition. PACCA hopes to expand that influence in the current campaign when members of various citizen organizations voice PACCA positions at upcoming candidate forums.

At least three of the Democratic contenders—Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massa-

chusetts, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona and Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois—have come out strongly against contra aid. Getting other candidates on the same bandwagon will require those who support the concept of alternative security to convince them that a majority of Americans favor a peaceful settlement in Central America, and that primary votes may hinge in part on that issue. That, no doubt, is an uphill struggle, but one PACCA and others think is worth the fight. □

Donna Eberwine is a New York-based journalist who has reported on Central America for The Miami Herald, The San Diego Union *and* the Latin American News Service.

RESEARCH & ANALYSIS/KATHERINE MAGRAW

ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

IS THERE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A CHANGE IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS?

Residents in four U.S. cities will soon have the opportunity to choose among alternative scenarios for U.S.-Soviet relations as a part of a project conducted by the Public Agenda Foundation (PAF) in collaboration with the Center for Foreign Policy Development (CFPD) at Brown University.

The goal of the study, which is called "The Public, the Soviets and Nuclear Weapons," is to "reframe the nuclear questions in a way that raises the level of dialogue above the fray of immediate issues such as whether or not to build the MX or D-5, decisions that the public isn't very good at or interested in," explains Tony Wagner, PAF project director. "We are trying to get the public to grapple with the deeper questions, such as 'What are the values driving our foreign policy?'"

The investigators have developed four "alternative futures" outlining different kinds of U.S.-Soviet relations, which in turn suggest different U.S. foreign policies.

The next phase of the project, scheduled to begin in January 1988, is a four-week media campaign to present the alternative futures in four mid-size cities. Cities currently under consideration include Baltimore, Kansas City, Nashville, Pittsburgh, San Antonio and Seattle. The campaign will consist of one television documentary, television and print advertising spots, and multiple-page newspaper supplements.

The project is not intended to promote any one alternative over the others, but to stimulate discussion about the future. The public will be asked to consider whether the United States can and should seek dominance over the Soviet Union by the year 2010 by vigorously pursuing offensive and defensive nuclear weaponry and seeking to unseat vulnerable Third World regimes aligned with the Soviet Union. Or, as a second "future" suggests, can and should the United States fundamentally transform its relationship with the Soviet Union into one of broad cooperation on major global problems, including the nuclear arms race, global overpopulation and hunger? A third "future" describes an isolationist United States with limited nuclear and military forces and a potential strategic defense system, and a fourth outlines joint U.S.-Soviet efforts to control the nuclear arms race while continuing to compete around the world for military and political influence.

The alternative futures media campaign will conclude with the distribution of a "ballot" through local newspapers to record public reactions to each of the options. The ballot returns, as well as results from random-sample surveys and responses from audiences selected to attend panel discussions of the "futures," will then be shared with policymakers and candidates for national office.

The project's design is based largely on prior research on the differences between the public's and the experts' views on the nuclear arms race and U.S.-Soviet relations. "We want to reconnect the experts and the the public to each other to reforge some consensus," explains Richard Smoke, research director at the Brown center.

Some of the project's early results are very encouraging. During organized roundtable discussions with local leaders in 10 cities around the country, the project found that participants expressed consistent support for changes in U.S.-Soviet relations.

The discussions were conducted during the project's initial phase of researching public understanding of policy and responses to various proposals before developing the four alternative futures. Community leaders were invited because it was assumed that they reflect their communities' views and interests.

"These people are interested in practical approaches to the Soviet Union and the nuclear arms race," PAF's Robert Kingston and CFPD's Jan Kalicki concluded from these discussions. "They are rejecting old ideological divisions in foreign policy. They are pushing for initiatives that defy conservative or liberal labels."

It is not unusual to conduct and analyze public opinion surveys on U.S. nuclear and foreign policy. Statistical surveys of public opinion on nuclear arms race issues routinely are reported in the media, cited by advocates for various issues positions, and used by politicians.

But the meaning and uses of such polls, and the "public opinion" they represent is often unclear. For example, how much validity do poll results have as expressions of policy preferences if, as reported in a 1984 PAF study, an astounding 81 percent of the American public believes it is U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons "if, and only if, the Soviets attack the United States first with nuclear weapons," when it is the government's policy to threaten to use—or to actually use—nuclear weapons either when war threatens or when it merely wants to achieve political aims?

As this kind of poll result indicates, public misperception is widespread. But according to the underlying theory of the project, lack of information is only a small part of the problem of involving the public in the formation of U.S. foreign policy. According to Richard Smoke, a larger problem is that "the public does not know how to express its values."

That's why, instead of using standard polling techniques, PAF and CFPD present project participants with alternative futures as a means to solicit public views.

But eliciting public expression of values does not answer the question: "What information does the public have and how does it form opinions based on that information?"

Public opinion is like an echo chamber—garbage in, garbage out—as V. O. Key, a noted scholar of American politics, once observed, in not quite those words. Key's controversial notion of public opinion in America perhaps can explain the public's mistaken belief in a U.S. "no-first-use" policy. If experts and policymakers present U.S. nuclear weapons and Soviet policy to the public stripped of political content and cloaked in Orwellian doubletalk, then it would be hardly surprising that the public echoes back "garbage."

Contrary to V. O. Key's somewhat pessimistic view, Smoke suggests that the problem is that political leaders do not know how to talk to the public and are not aware that the public is really interested.

As Jan Kalicki comments, "Political

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leaders don't think this is a salient issue for the public." A primary goal of the project, Kalicki explains, is to demonstrate to politicians and, in particular, to presidential and other national candidates in the 1988 elections, that the public is interested. The project directors assume that if political leaders can be persuaded that this is the case, then the nuclear arms race and U.S.-Soviet relations could become a major issue of the 1988 national elections.

But is the relationship between public opinion and policymaking really so direct? And does everyone's opinion really matter?

Although poll after poll revealed that more than 70 percent of the public was in favor of a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze, the U.S. government did not pursue a freeze with the Soviet Union. In fact, many analysts argue that the administration's attentiveness to polling data is the key to its success in defusing the freeze movement.

Borrowing from the work of PAF founder Daniel Yankelovich, the project directors believe that one role of public opinion is to define general policy parameters—"public permissions"—within which policymakers must stay if they are to retain popular support. Kalicki and his colleagues hope that their analysis of public attitudes will reveal to politicians that "public permissions" are more extensive than previously assumed, which could encourage politicians to venture further away from status quo positions.

Thomas Graham, who has studied 40 years of public opinion polls on the nuclear arms race, argues that public attitudes are indeed crucial, but not in the manner predicted by the conventional understanding of the American democratic system. "Public opinion is a resource," says Graham. "The question is: 'Do advocates or opponents of the arms race use it better?' Public opinion has had an important impact on the direction of policy when either side uses it in a decisively better way."

Graham argues that during the normal course of events, only around five percent of the population participates in the political system. Therefore, it is inaccurate to assume that policy preferences of a cross-section of the public would have much influence on shaping policy.

How to engage and mobilize the public is as much a challenge as it is to understand public beliefs and opinions. The project's final results may help answer these questions. □

Katherine Magraw is a Ph.D. candidate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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FREEZE LEGISLATION

ACCOUNT OF CONGRESSIONAL FIGHT DEFINES SUCCESS NARROWLY

Congress and the Freeze: An Inside Look at the Politics of a Mass Movement *by Douglas Waller ($12.95 paper, 346 pages, University of Massachusetts Press, 1987).*

The subtitle of congressional aide Doug Waller's book is somewhat misleading. Waller uses "politics" to refer to the freeze movement's activity in Congress, not to the more general political activity of the movement, which consists of organizational debate, public outreach, media work, electoral campaigns and relations with other movements. By limiting his definition of politics, Waller narrows his discussion of movement history and restricts his analysis of its goals, accomplishments and failures.

For Waller and other congressional lieutenants, the freeze resolution was a symbolic "call for action" that would rally public opinion, enlist congressional support for arms control, and put political pressure on President Reagan. Waller and congressional champions of the freeze campaigned for two years to achieve this end.

According to Waller, the freeze movement did not fully understand or appreciate the efforts made on its behalf and had to be prevented on numerous occasions from shooting itself in the foot. Waller complains, for instance, that the third Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign conference "was being run in a way that made effective lobbying [by Waller] next to impossible" and that this led the freeze campaign to adopt a strategy that was inconsistent with his strategy on Capitol Hill. Throughout the book Waller treats the freeze movement with condescension. In his frustration with movement unilateralists and liberal Democrats who attempted to sabotage the resolution with burdensome amendments, Waller begins to sound a lot like Charlie Sheen in *Platoon* when he says near the movie's end, "We didn't fight the enemy, we fought each other."

The hero of Waller's tale is not the mass movement, but Congress. With the help of "savvy" politicians like Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) [and Waller's boss at the time], a "revolutionary" Congress, passed a resolution instructing the president "to sit down with the Soviets and negotiate a mutual halt to the nuclear arms race."

This important symbolic event created important symbolic results, according to Waller. The resolution forced Reagan to moderate his rhetoric and put arms control on his agenda. For Waller that is enough. Because he defined goals narrowly, he was able to succeed mightily.

The not-so-symbolic fact that Congress approved the MX missile days after it voted for the freeze or that Reagan successfully countered public sympathy for a freeze with Star Wars and conducted an enormous military buildup with congressional consent does not alter Waller's assessment. But if politics is understood more widely, if the aim of the freeze was to force substantive change in U.S. nuclear policy and alter the conduct of the arms race, then one would reach somewhat different conclusions about the passage of a non-binding resolution in one house of Congress. It is true that the congressional freeze campaign resulted in the brief capture of an important political hill. From the perspective of congressional lieutenants like Waller who participated in the assault, this was an enormous achievement. But from a strategic vantage, it is a hill surrounded by mountains. The President, the Senate, the Pentagon, NATO allies and Military contractors are peaks in one, the Cold War, Deterrence, Arms Control and Public Apathy are summits of another. These are formidable political heights that have not been successfully scaled.

Although Waller presents an interesting tactical history of the freeze campaign in Congress, with a detailed narrative of the word-smithing, cajoling, politicking and Roberts-Rules-of-Order-ing that surrounded the bill, he does not address the strategic obstacles facing the movement and its congressional allies nor discuss how they might be surmounted. A history that examines the wider politics of this mass movement has yet to be written.

In Brief

Peace Experiments *edited by Terry Hermsen, (205 pages, Unitarian Universalist Peace Network, 1985).* Subtitled "Activ-

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Korea Report, *a newsletter edited by Young Il Choi and published by the Korea Information and Resource Center ($12 a year, 1314 14th St., NW, Suite 5, Washington, DC 20005)* analyzes dramatic contemporary political developments in Korea, north and south. If the first two issues are any indication, *Korea Report* will provide valuable source material on the South Korean opposition movement and its perspective on security and reunification in the peninsula. —*R.S.*

Two Koreas—One Future? *edited by John Sullivan and Roberta Foss ($11.50, 167 pages, University Press of America/American Friends Service Committee, 1987).* In its effort to develop an alternative security policy for the Korean peninsula, AFSC has produced an excellent primer on the history, economics, politics and military posture of the North and South. Because the two states never signed a peace treaty after the 1950-53 Korean conflict, many problems remain unresolved and the threat of war remains high. The authors correct many commonplace misconceptions about the two Koreas and suggest ways that the threat of conventional and nuclear war in the region might be reduced and how a political solution might be achieved. —*R.S.*

Olof Palme Memorial Lecture on Disarmament and Development *edited by Cora Weiss (85 pages, $7.95, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY, 1987).* African National Congress President Oliver Tambo gave the keynote speech at a January 1987 tribute to slain Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. Tambo's speech, together with those of William Sloane Coffin, Cora Weiss and Allan Boesak, is collected in this slim volume. The contributors draw a connection between first world disarmament, third world development, and anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. *R.S.*

EUROPE/Continued from page 20

their own country, is it not reasonable for Germans to prefer the former?

Such a choice could only become reality through a process of negotiations involving mutual concessions and a very sizable reduction of the Soviet threat. Signals from Moscow indicate a readiness to do this, including scrapping much of the large tank armada that symbolizes the Soviet threat to the West. The German peace movement's priority, after INF, is to work for a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Central Europe. Greenpeace will be running after the arms race at sea, and the Scandinavians are stressing the growing movement to deny port access to nuclear warships.

In July, German Social Democrat Erhard Eppler told the END convention in Coventry that "we cannot just dissolve NATO and the Warsaw Pact, but we can make them obsolete." Eppler sums this up in the image of the "rusting curtain". . . . a change that takes time but is inexorable. □

Diana Johnstone is the author of The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe's Role in America's World *(Verso, 1984) and is the European correspondent for* In These Times.

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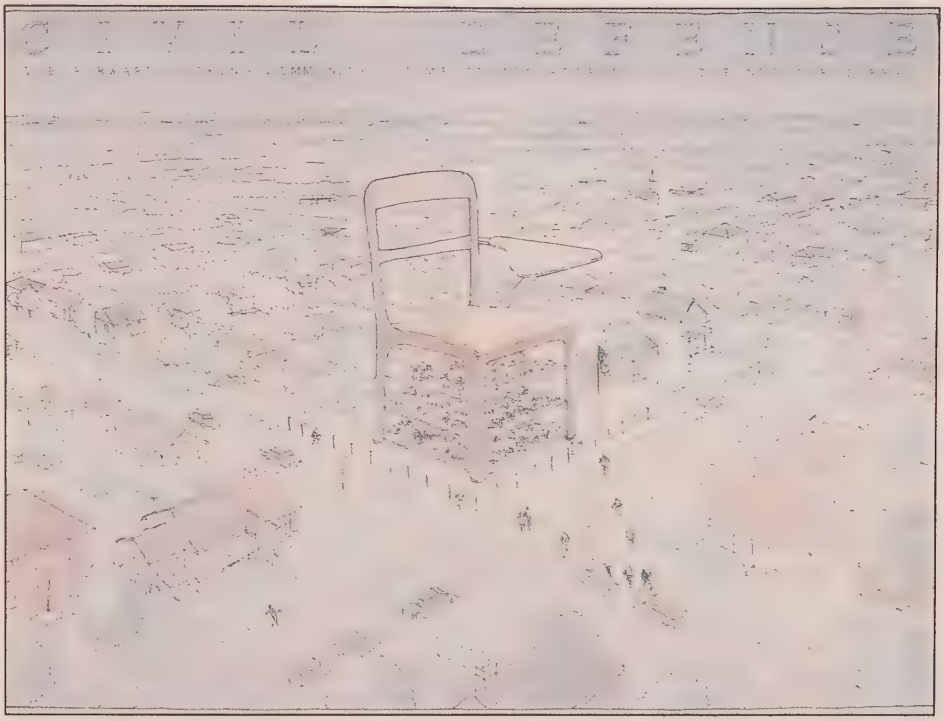
Gimme Shelter

When the Federal Emergency Management proposed earlier this year to build 600 bomb shelters for state and local officials at a cost of $1.5 billion, the Northern California chapter of Architects, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility decided to help out in a constructive way: it sponsored a satirical bomb shelter design competition. More than 80 designers from across the country and Canada responded to the call for entries. Their designs were lively, inventive, funny, sobering and thought-provoking images underscoring "the fundamental paradox of nuclear blast survival."

The winning design, picked by a panel of judges including artist Robert Arneson, architects Mark Mack and Cathy Simon, designer Barbara Stauffacher Solomon and San Francisco architectural critic Allan Temko, was a mobile fallout shelter in the shape of a giant cockroach. The design, by Bill Hickey and Mike Lee of Minneapolis, depicted different shelter levels inside a detailed roach structure. Cockroaches, which have been crawling around since prehistoric times, can survive an atomic attack.

The panel also selected five honor award winners. One, by Jack Busby of San Francisco, was a rendering of people crouched inside a four-story replica of a child's school desk. Busby entitled it "Civil Defense—the forward-looking community's time-tested response to the nuclear threat." Jon Cosner of San Francisco drew an inverted Transamerica pyramid (a San Francisco skyscraper shaped like a pyramid) sunk upside down in the ground. The drawing had space for business executives at the tip of the pyramid and shelter for the homeless at the ground level. The "Roach Motel" honor-award entry by Jill Lawrence and Michael Reardon of San Francisco displayed the roach theme in a brilliantly colored illustration. It featured the slogan "Bureaucrats check in. . . . but they never check out." The fourth honor award went to Walt Chamber's "Shelter for the Soviets" in which the San Francisco native

(Continued on page 34)



Jack Busby's illustration from ADPSR's satirical bomb shelter design competition.

PSR

Reactor Madness

Just in time for April Fool's Day, the Air Force unveiled a five-year, 20 billion dollar plan to build several hundred small nuclear reactors to generate electrical power in a protracted nuclear war. In the event that the commercial power grid was disabled or destroyed in a nuclear attack, these reactors—shuttled around the United States and overseas by air—would provide emergency electricity to computers, command posts and communications facilities. Their purpose? To keep U.S. nuclear forces firing come hell, high water or holocaust.

The plan is predicated on an assumption that has largely disappeared from the rhetoric—but apparently not the thinking—of the Reagan administration: nuclear war can be fought, survived and won. All we need, according to the Air Force plan, is the electricity to do so. The Air Force, of course, takes it for granted that our society would remain cohesive enough to use nuclear power during and after a nuclear war. Never mind the tens of millions of Americans killed and injured, the scores of cities incinerated, and the vital infrastructures destroyed.

This reactor madness was not, however, the brainchild of the Air Force alone. The reactors were reportedly developed by the Department of Energy (DOE) to power the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, the ring of radars in the Arctic Circle designed to detect enemy bombers as they approach North America. When plans for the DEW Line changed, the DOE began pushing the Air Force to provide a new home for the developed technology.

Air Force enthusiasm for the program waned, however, when its madcap scheme drew strong criticism. In late May, citing congressional restrictions and budgetary limitations, the Air Force struck the $5.5 million line item from its own 1988 budget request—a small sacrifice for a little sanity restored.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.

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proposed the superpowers build shelters for each other, thus unleashing a "bomb shelter race." The fifth honor was awarded to a design by Philip Hodgin, Timothy Hickman, Paul Mankins and Christos Saccopoulos of Des Moines showing a black map of the United States with descriptions of what five post-nuclear holocaust cities would look like.

ADPSR chapters around the country will exhibit the winning entries in the bomb shelter competition and the Northern California chapter plans to produce a catalog.

For more information about the bomb shelter contest, contact ADPSR/Norcal, P.O. Box 9126, Berkeley, CA 94709-0126. For other information, contact ADPSR at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, (212) 431-3756.

SANE/FREEZE

Test Ban Caravan Sweeps Through Washington

On June 8 and 9 hundreds of SANE/FREEZE activists from 32 states descended on Washington, D.C. for a weekend of meetings, lobbying and civil disobedience. The impetus for the effort was the first meeting of the joint national boards, but the focus was on activism.

That activism produced results. The more than 1,200 Test Ban Caravan participants met with senators, representatives and congressional staffs to discuss a nuclear weapons testing moratorium and other arms control issues. SANE/FREEZE joined forces with Freeze Voter, the Council for a Livable World, the Federation of American Scientists and other groups to provide the SANE/FREEZE grassroots members with extensive background and training for their lobbying ventures.

At one series of training workshops participants discussed how activists could and should lobby conservative representatives and how to successfully work with liberal and moderate members of Congress. Issues briefing sessions also provided activists with information on nuclear testing, space weapons, the ABM, SALT II and other treaties, and the status of the intermediate nuclear forces (INF) talks. State caucuses, meanwhile, focused on how representatives viewed weapons and treaty issues.

After the day-long training session, activists climbed Capitol Hill to meet with members of Congress. Representing states as far from Washington as California and Hawaii and as close as Maryland, activists met with about half of the senators and their staffs.

The results were spectacular. Seven senators agreed to cosponsor the Hatfield-Kennedy bill (S. 1106) that calls for a two-year moratorium on nuclear weapons tests.

Nuclear Times talked with Test Ban Caravan participants from Georgia, New Jersey and Michigan.

Ellen Spears, a steering committee member of the Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace campaign, led her state's delegation of 20 activists. They met with Democratic Sens. Wyche Fowler and Sam Nunn, and Reps. Pat Swindall (R) and Ed Jenkins (D). Fowler became a cosponsor of the Hatfield-Kennedy bill after the meeting.

"We organized phone calls and other lobbying leading up to our June meeting with Senator Fowler," Spear explained. "The work we did was instrumental in getting him to sign onto the bill."

Fowler has been supportive of arms control and peace initiatives in the past. As a member of the House in 1986, he cosponsored a resolution on testing and opposed funding of the Nicaraguan contras.

Spears said that Fowler represents a South that is quite different than the one normally portrayed by the media.

"I think there is a more progressive peace constituency here," she said. "While the Atlanta Nuclear Free Zone resolution was blocked from the ballot last year by legal action, exit polls showed that voters overwhelmingly supported the idea. Southern voters often feel left out of politics. We have to work to involve people, so that we're represented by the Wyche Fowlers rather than the Sam Nunns. As more of the under-represented voters raise their voices, a peace viewpoint will be reflected in the South."

Activists from other states were also successful. One hundred and fifty people from New Jersey met with Democratic Sens. Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg. During the meeting, Lautenberg announced his cosponsorship of the testing moratorium.

Mary Ward, assistant director of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament in New Jersey, credits activist efforts over many months with this achievement. "Senator Lautenberg seized the opportunity of our visit to make his announcement because he knew it would attract attention," she said. "We've been working for some time and this is the culmination of our efforts."

Arlene Victor, co-chairwoman of the metropolitan Detroit Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament chapter, was one of more than 25 Michiganders who travelled to Washington, D.C. for the Test Ban Caravan. They met with Democratic Sens. Donald Riegle and Carl Levin to discuss arms control and disarmament issues.

"Riegle and Levin are both supportive of

our issues," said Victor. "They both said that what we're doing is important and that momentum is on our side. They told us that the presidential election is critical. Congress can have an impact, but the president is central to changes in foreign and military policy."

The Michigan group had been scheduled to meet with a Riegle aide, but the evening before the meeting a SANE/FREEZE lobbyist told them not to be intimidated by members of Congress and to ask to see the senator personally. The next day, said Victor, "We went to [Riegle's] office and asked his aide to get him out of his committee meeting. Within minutes he was there. When we asked him to cosponsor the Hatfield-Kennedy bill, he turned to his aide and asked 'Haven't we done that yet?' Then he agreed to do it."

For more information, contact SANE/FREEZE, *711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100 or 220 I St. NE, Suite 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.*

Peace Links

Sara Murphy on International Networking

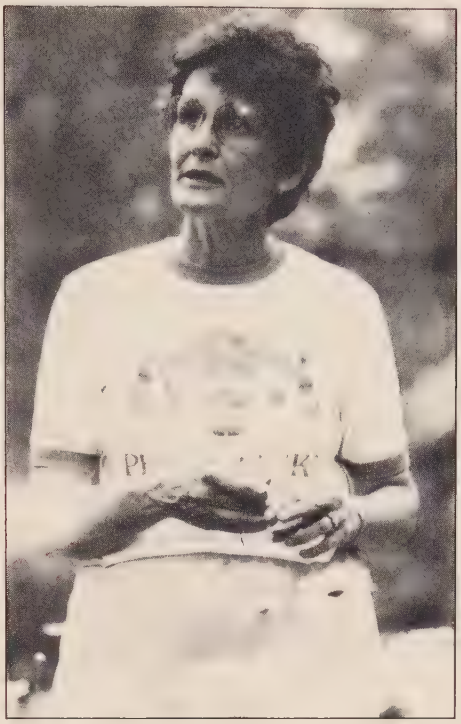
Sara Murphy began "networking" in 1963—well before the word was coined. For Murphy, networking is an important tool for women to gain political power. In a speech at a national Peace Links conference in Washington, D.C. last June, Murphy said, "Networks emerge when people are trying to change society. We are networking in and through Peace Links [and] are beginning to build enough power on peace issues to change society."

Murphy, the associate director for communication for the Arkansas Department of Education, founded Peace Links five years ago with her neighbor, Betty Bumpers, the wife of Democratic Sen. Dale Bumpers.

In an interview with *Nuclear Times* during the conference, Murphy talked about future plans. "We want to expand our Peace Links network," she explained. "This fall a delegation of Peace Links women will be going to the Soviet Union. And that is just the start. We want to have an ongoing network with [Soviet women], one that is based on a project."

Murphy and other Peace Links representatives travelled to the Soviet Union in February to lay the groundwork for the fall trip. They met with the Soviet Women's Committee and discussed common concerns, such as increasing the number of women in decision-making positions. From those meetings the concept of a U.S.-Soviet women's network emerged.

"We will start with something simple, something that would give us a reason for networking," said Murphy. "An exchange



Sara Murphy of Peace Links

of peace toys is a possibility. That could lead to teaching children about peace. Another possibility is a joint book with simple stories on peace."

Murphy has even grander ideas. "We have been talking about a joint immunization program in the Third World," she said. "It would be hard to get past the bureaucrats in both our countries, but we may try it later. Such a program could be a wonderful example to other countries of what women networking can do."

Murphy first got involved with women's political networks in the early 1960s when she worked with the Panel of American Women, an organization that conducted programs on integration across the country. More recently she has been active in the Arkansas Women's Network working on women's rights issues.

Her 25 years of experience has convinced her that women's political potential has not yet been realized. "Women are only beginning to get into decision-making positions," she said. "We don't know yet what we can do as individuals or collectively. Those in power call on women when they're in trouble, so why don't we make the connections on our own?"

For information on Peace Links in your area write us at 747 Eighth St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

ESR

How I Spent My Summer Vacation

Educators for Social Responsibility's (ESR) summer institutes offer teachers the time to share ideas neglected during the school year, analyze common experiences, and bring life to new ways to teach about the most difficult issues of our time.

This summer ESR offered seven chapter institutes—more than ever before—in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Maine, North Carolina, California and Minnesota, and a national institute in Massachusetts. Through workshops, discussions and practice time, hundreds of ESR's innovative teachers learned new methods for teaching about the Soviet Union, and formed state and regional professional development (teacher training) teams.

Wisconsin/ESR Institute. Wisconsin/ESR kicked off the summer on June 22 with a week-long program cosponsored by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, and got favorable reviews. "The density of thought and feeling throughout was remarkable," said Tim Turner, Wisconsin/ESR executive director.

In an old mansion overlooking Lake Michigan, Wisconsin teachers of nuclear age or peace education—half of them new to ESR—gathered for the first time to address challenges and goals. They raised such major questions as "What do I do with my own opinion? Is it ever appropriate to reveal it, and if so, when and how?" They also grappled with the question of how to encourage students to develop their own viewpoints, yet challenge them to continue examining the information on which those viewpoints are based.

Many teachers spoke of feeling isolated in their attempts to examine fully and without bias complicated and controversial issues in their classrooms. By the end of the week, they had built a support network and agreed to return for a day in September to discuss their plans for the new school year.

National Summer Institute. The focus of ESR's national institute held at Amherst College the week of July 12 was "Teaching About the Soviet Union." The institute was cosponsored by the Five Colleges Peace and World Security Studies Program and the University of Massachusetts Graduate School of Education.

Roberta Snow, the founder of ESR, led a group of mostly new ESR recruits into the thicket of perhaps the thorniest issue facing teachers today: how to present the complex realities of the Soviet Union.

A full report of all the summer institutes

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can be found in the fall issue of *Forum*, ESR's newsletter.

For more information, contact: Educators for Social Responsibility, Dept NT, 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764.

COALITION

Towards an Alternative Foreign Policy

In five days of testimony before the Senate and House Select Committees investigating the Iran-contra scandal, Lt. Col. Oliver North accomplished what Ronald Reagan failed to do in five years. He persuaded the American public there is an imminent communist menace on our southern border and then used it to justify any steps, past and future, to defend our country against this alleged threat to national security. This once obscure Marine admitted he lied to Congress about his activities. He acknowledged circumventing constitutional process, but claimed his higher calling—staving off the unrelenting threat of communist subversion—transformed the unethical nature of his every action into praiseworthy deeds. The American public, responding to this fearmongering, seemed willing not only to exonerate North, but to embrace and enshrine him as a new national hero.

For those of us seeking fundamental changes in U.S. foreign policy, the Iran-contra hearings have been sobering. They have highlighted the difficult and complex task we face in moving the public from this most primitive response toward a more reasoned, rational framework for addressing foreign policy challenges.

The hearings demonstrate the importance of the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy's new program to challenge and change the very foundations of current U.S. foreign policy. This project, the Alternative Foreign Policy Program, grows from our deepened sense of urgency to put before the American public a morally defensible, yet politically practicable alternative framework for guiding U.S. military and foreign policy.

The objectives of the program are:

- to educate our constituencies about the history and political significance of "containment" as the foundation of U.S. foreign policy;
- to challenge the validity of anti-communism as the framework for guiding U.S. foreign affairs;
- to propose another framework and basic principles consistent with the values of our members for a new U.S. foreign policy;
- to implement an educational, training and action program with the constituencies of our member groups to translate our policy proposal into political reality.

Direct involvement of the constituencies of our member groups—potentially 43 million Americans—will be the key to successful implementation of the program. Coalition staff will work closely with our religious and secular organizations in holding workshops and training programs, developing educational materials, and organizing action projects to change the course of U.S. policy.

The pioneering contributions of progressive research and policy groups make the development of the Coalition program considerably easier. These think tanks, such as the Institute for Policy Studies, the Institute for Peace and International Security and the Institute for Defense and Disaramament Studies, seek to articulate foreign policy alternatives. While these progressive policy institutions will be vital in helping to shape the Coalition's policy alternative, the Coalition has the unique capability of carrying this alternative policy vision to an important segment of the American public through its broad and active membership base.

For more information contact the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy at 712 G St. S.E., Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-8400.

WAND

Ann Edgerton: Building a Peace Platform

Ann Edgerton of Iowa is a busy woman. As a member of the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) Board of Directors, pilot project coordinator for the Alternative Defense Network, and head of the Allamakee County Democratic Party, she is working to ensure that disarmament issues are high on the agenda at at the February 8, 1988 Iowa caucuses—the first time Americans will register their preferences for the next president.

"The media and the candidates are showing an interest in Iowa that is very different from 1984," said Edgerton in a recent interview. "*The New York Times* and *U.S. News & World Report* were not phoning me at my farm for Iowa insights in 1984. [But now] they are seeking input from grassroots leadership. I partly credit this shift to the ongoing work of grassroots activists and their national organizations working for nuclear disarmament."

Over the last few months Edgerton has met with most of the presidential candidates and tried to pin them down on their

positions on nuclear weapons issues and their vision of the future.

"When I talk to them about managing the arms race, I find that they are all very similar in their thinking, such as returning to SALT II compliance and adhering to the 1972 ABM Treaty. But when I begin to question their views of 'modernization' as it relates to pre-emptive first strikes or how they felt about 'depressed trajectory,' they get really nervous," Edgerton explained.

Edgerton raises these difficult questions to emphasize the dangers of the U.S. "first strike" policy and the drive to "modernize," which means building weapons that can strike first. She urges candidates to support steps such as a flight test ban that would limit development of new nuclear missile systems, including Trident II D-5 and Midgetman.

"The chance to discuss these issues with the candidates illustrates the way in which grassroots people can communicate and build working relationships with those who in turn can shape public opinion and influence policy by their vote," Edgerton said. "Right now WAND's Iowa groups, for example, have access to the candidates. They are working on projects which will ensure that good planks are inserted in the military and foreign policy platforms of the Iowa caucuses."

Iowa WAND affiliates will also be participating in an Alternative Defense Network pilot project coordinated by Edgerton for Randy Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, which is based in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The pilot project is designed to bring together small groups of committed individuals to discuss alternative defense futures, and develop the avenues for generating public debate and gaining attention at the local level.

"'Just what is security in the nuclear age? How do we transform national insecurity to international common security?' These are the kinds of questions that will be examined in this project," said Edgerton. "Today, in the richest nation on earth, 34 million people officially live below the poverty line—that's one in every seven. Homelessness continues to rise steadily. One of every four farmers has lost his farm. Women and children are the biggest losers in Reagan's militarized economy. What our work in Iowa really boils down to is shaping public opinion to in turn shape political will. If we can engage, educate and elect, we can participate in redirecting the skewed priorities of our country's military and foreign policies."

For more information on this campaign contact: WAND, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.

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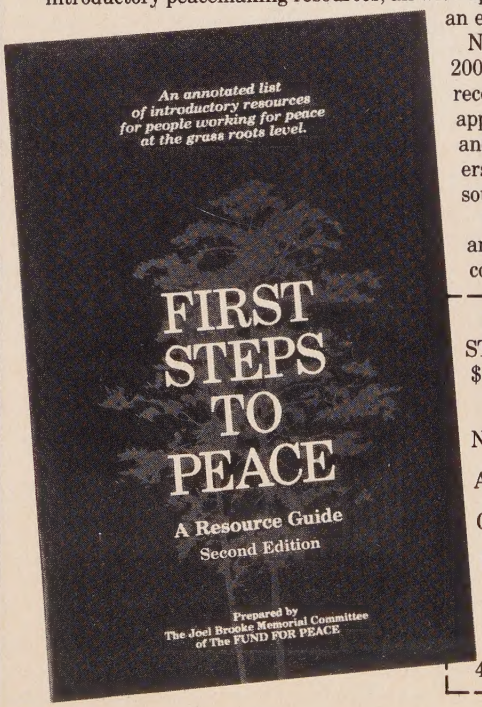
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CALENDAR

September

3 Portland, Ore. A quiet vigil to honor Ben Linder and oppose continued Contra aid. Pioneer Square, SW Broadway and Morrison corner. Every Thursday until the Contra aid vote in Congress. *Contact:* Women's International League For Peace and Freedom (502) 224-5190, 11-3 weekdays.

4 Norwalk, Conn. A SANE/Freeze celebration. Speakers include Kevin Bean from Economic Conversion Task Force, Jobs For Peace and music from "Seizure." $7 minimum donation. All proceeds to further the cause of peace and economic justice in Fairfield County. *Contact:* SANE/Freeze (203) 327-2625.

10 To 9/12, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. Nuclear Strategy Symposium. Panel discussions on the pros and cons of the nuclear issue. Panelists and speakers include members of the press/media, government, military and scientific community. *Contact:* (205) 293-1110.

12 New York, N.Y. International Teleconference: The Role of the U.N. in Containing Conflict. Sponsored by the U.N. Association of the U.S. Peacemaking and peacekeeping roles of the U.N. will be examined. Panel will be composed of international personalities. The conference will be broadcast via satellite to 10 regional conferences across the country. *Contact:* Jim Olson or Jim Muldoon at the United Nations Association—USA (212) 697-3232.

13 To 9/14, San Francisco. National Weapons Facilities Organizers Conference will focus attention on corporate and military installations that support the arms race. *Contact:* National Mobilization For Survival in New York City (212) 995-8787.

17 To 9/20, Galway, Ireland. The Fifth Annual North Atlantic Network Conference will address the topic "Securing A Nuclear Free Sea: Building An Alternative Alliance." *Contact:* National Mobilization For Survival (212) 995-8787.

Roger Wilkins, a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, will speak at the Riverside Church Disarmament Program Conference on October 16.

21 New York, N.Y. The Second Annual Better World Society Awards Dinner will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The Better World Awards, founded by broadcasting entrepreneur Ted Turner, recognizes individuals and organizations throughout the world who are making contributions toward peace, population stabilization, protection of the global ecosystem, humanitarian service and international communication. This years honorees are the UN Peacekeeping Forces-Peace, Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner-Communications, Dr. Fred Sai-Population, Quest For Peace-Humanitarian Service and Chico Mendes-Environment. *Contact:* Better World Society (202) 331-3770 or (212) 692-7984.

26 Minneapolis, Minn. Fifth Annual Planning Conference of the Twin Cities Peace and Justice Coalition will be bringing together activists from all over Minnesota. Strategy and planning for the upcoming year will be theme. *Contact:* Ginger at (612) 338-8111.

26 To 9/27, Portland, Ore. Tentative date for "Ben Linder: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Central America," a teach-in being planned by a coalition of local peace and Central America groups. Speakers include Alexander Cockburn, a journalist for the Nation magazine and Joshua Cohen, author of *On Democracy. Contact:* Millie Thayer, Portland Central America Solidarity Committee (502) 236-7916.

27 Chicago. Performance For Peace concert by Chicago Symphony Winds and three vocal soloists. *Contact:* (312) 372-7867.

28 To 9/30, New York, N.Y. Global Symposium On The Health Effects of Ionizing Radiation. Papers are now being accepted on both high and low level radiation exposures. Presentations should fall in one of three categories: New research, Summaries or Literature Surveys. *Contact:* Symposium Review Panel, Health and Energy Institute. 236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 506 Washington, DC 20002.

October

16 To 10/17, New York, N.Y. Riverside Church Disarmament Program Conference will focus on: "The Ways Wars Are Waged In A Nuclear Age." Areas of conflict in Central America, Southern Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific will be examined as will domestic implications of U.S. military buildup and superpower roles. Featured speakers include Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Cora Weiss and Roger Wilkins. *Contact:* Riverside Church at (212) 222-5900.

19 To 10/25, Nationwide. "Speak Out For Middle East Peace Week." Local forums, vigils and religious services. *Contact:* National Mobilization For Survival (212) 995-8787.

24 To 10/26, Nationwide. "25 Years Back To The Brink: 25th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis." National Mobilization For Survival will coordinate six to 10 protests at weapons facilities. *Contact:* Judy Freiworth at National Mobilization For Survival (212) 995-8787.

24 To 10/26, Regional. Protest the Trident-2 Missile and First Strike Policy at the Electric Boat Shipyards. Protests will be held at Quonset Pt., Rhode Island and Groton, Connecticut. These actions will be held in conjunction with demonstrations throughout the country marking the 25th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis. *Contact:* in Conn. (203) 889-5337/776-4098; in R.I. (401) 421-6271.

November

13 To 11/15, Orlando, Fla. National Mobilization For Survival's 11th national convention. Strategy planning for 1988. *Contact:* Judy Freiworth at National Mobilization For Survival (212) 995-8787.

20 To 11/22 Cleveland, Ohio. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Conference.

Ongoing

Information Hotlines: Nuclear Legislation (202) 546-0408; Central America Legislation (202) 546-0664; Nicaragua (2020 332-9230; South Africa (202) 546-0408; nuclear tests (702) 363-7780; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343.

Chicago's Peace Museum: "Voices From Exile," an exhibition of exiled South African artists, opens 8/2. "Child's Play II," an exhibit of interactive participatory events highlighting the theme conflict resolution. *Contact:* Ruth Bairett (312) 440-1860.

Compiled by Anthony Parker.

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. . . with beautiful and provocative artwork from the Syracuse Cultural Workers. Give the gift of peace with the internationally acclaimed 1988 Carry It On Peace Calendar and new Holiday/Solstice Greeting Cards by seven progressive artists. The Calendar is dedicated to the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament (pictured below).

1988 Carry It On Peace Calendar. Full color artwork which honors past struggles, celebrates successes, inspires everyday work and envisions a more just future. Topics include: homeless; Bishop Oscar Romero; Native Americans; elderly; Bread and Roses Strike. Mediums are oil, photography, cut paper collage, mural, fabric and thread. Lunar cycles, people's history dates, 3 page network list. 14x11 folded. $8.95; 3-4 $8.25 each; 5-9 $8; 10+ $7 each. L88CW

A) Time Is The Wheel. Artwork by Brian Prendergast. Verse by Wendell Berry. 5x7. 6/$5.75. C70CW.

B) Circle Of Justice. Artwork by Bonnie Acker. Blank inside. 4x6. 6/$4.50. C66CW.

C) No War Toys. Photograph by Mima Cataldo. Blank inside. Statement on war toys on back. 4x6. 6/$4.50. C72CW.

D) She Is Whole. Artwork and verse by Amy E. Bartell. 4x6. 6/$4.50. C73CW.

E) Pomegranate. Artwork by Elly Simmons. Verse by Karen Elias. 4x6. 6/$4.50. C78CW.

F) Creation Of The World Quilt I. By Judy Chicago with Sally Babson. From The Birth Project. Blank inside. 5x7. 6/$5.75. C69CW.

G) Prodigal Father. Artwork by Marion C. Honors, CSJ. "May this season bring you closer to the ones you love." 4x6. 6/$4.50. C77CW.

1988 *Carry It On* Peace Calendar

A)

B)

C)

D)

E)

F)

G)

Ordering Information: All retail orders must be prepaid unless institutional purchase order is used. Check or money order payable to **Syracuse Cultural Workers, P.O. Box 6367-NT, Syracuse, NY 13217 (315) 474-1132.** Foreign orders please pay in US dollars. $8.00 charge for bounced checks.

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